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BAND 38

KÖKE SUDUR (THE BLUE CHRONICLE)
A Study of the First Mongolian Historical Novel
by Injannasi

by

JOHN GOMBOJAB HANGIN

1973
OTTO HARRASSOWITZ · WIESBADEN

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The emblem shows Injannasi's autograph from his *Tümed manuscript*

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PREFACE

The present work, originally prepared as a Ph. D. dissertation,* is a natural outgrowth of my M. A. thesis "Injannasi (1837-1892) and His Historical Novel *Köke sudur* (1871)," submitted to the Faculty of Philosophy, Columbia University, in 1963. At that time many of the publications on the author and his works published in Mongolia in the period since the mid-1950's were not available, therefore the above-mentioned thesis could be only a preliminary attempt to introduce the author and his major work, the *Köke sudur*, within a limited scope.

Since then, I have made two trips to the Mongolian People's Republic, in the summers of 1967 and 1969, and was able to obtain many of the works published on this subject, thanks to the Mongolian scholars B. Rinchen, Ts. Damdinsüren, Sh. Luvsanvandan, and others. At the same time, I was able to examine first-hand some materials on Injannasi in the Mongolian State Library.

But I have received my greatest encouragement to pursue further study on the *Köke sudur* from Professor Walther Heissig, the Director of the *Seminar für Sprach- und Kulturwissenschaft Zentralasiens* of the University of Bonn, who himself had a longtime interest in the *Köke sudur*, and was so kind as to help me obtain a grant from the Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst in the summer of 1968, which enabled me to work with him on the *Köke sudur*. My stay in Bonn was most valuable because it enabled me to consult with Professor Heissig in person concerning my course of research on the *Köke sudur*. Professor Heissig not only provided me with invaluable advice on my research but also kindly permitted me to make a Xerox copy of the all-important Tümed manuscript of the *Köke sudur* which he discovered during his sojourn in Inner Mongolia in the 1940's.

I have received equally great encouragement and constant guidance from my teachers at Indiana University. To Professor John R. Krueger, I owe more than a debt of gratitude. He not only gave direction to my whole program of studies at Indiana University, but also guided my research for this doctoral dissertation and provided me with constant advice, criticism and editorship.

I am deeply grateful to Professor Denis Sinor, the Chairman of the Department of Uralic and Altaic Studies, who made it possible for me to pursue my Doctoral program while functioning as a full-time faculty member in the Department, and who gave me encouragement, and advice, during the progress of this study.

My thanks are due to Professor Richard S. Y. Chi, who supplied me with invaluable advice on the solution of some of the problems of Sinitic elements in the *Köke sudur*.

J. G. H.

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* Presented at Indiana University (Bloomington), September 1970, in Uralic and Altaic Studies, as "The Literary Position of Injannasi's *Köke Sudur* (The Blue Chronicle)."

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APPARATUS

Notes on Transcription, Translations and Abbreviations

1. Transliteration and Transcription

The transliteration for the classical Mongolian forms cited in this thesis is based on that of the *Mongolian-English Dictionary*, edited by Ferdinand D. Lessing, University of California Press, Berkeley 1960, with the following modification:

Lessing	Present work
ø	ö
y	ü
Γ	ğ
j	y
x	q
z	j

Chinese characters are transcribed according to the modified Wade-Giles system as it appears in *Mathew's Chinese-English Dictionary*, Harvard University Press, Revised American Edition, Cambridge 1960.

2. Translation

Since this thesis stresses the literary quality of the *Köke sudur*, I have not attempted an exact or literal translation. Rather I have tried to bring out the equivalent meaning, if necessary by paraphrasing. Yet, some of the poems had to be rendered more or less through literal translation because the two languages differ radically, and Mongolian poetic quality is hard to render in English. It should be noted that the English translations cannot faithfully render the beauty and artistry of the original Mongolian text.

3. Abbreviations

KL	K'ailu printed edition of the *Köke sudur*.
KS	*Köke sudur*.
KQ	Köke-qota printed edition of the *Köke sudur*.
PK	Peking printed edition of the *Köke sudur*.
TT	*Tobcitu tolta*.
YYUMTKS	*Yeke yuwan ulus-un manduğsan törü-yin köke sudur*.

INTRODUCTION

The Mongolian historical novel *Yeke Yuwan ulus-un manduğsan törü-yin köke sudur*, which is generally known by its abbreviated title of the *Köke sudur* (The Blue Chronicle) is the only work of its kind by a Mongolian author based on the history of the Great Mongol Empire. According to the author, Injannasi (1837–1892), this work was first begun by his father, Wangcinbala (1795–1847), but was interrupted by the Opium War (1840) and he was not able to resume his work before his death. Wangcinbala only wrote the first eight chapters of the *Köke sudur* and it was Injannasi who completed it in the 1870's. Although the whole work is supposed to have consisted of 120 chapters, only 69 chapters have been found so far, together with the author's original extensive introductory section consisting of eight parts out of the original twelve parts. The 69 chapters found contain the history of Cinggis Khan from the time of his birth (1162) to his death (1227) and continue the reign of his son Ögedei for nine years until 1236.

The *Köke sudur* was not published during the author's lifetime but circulated among readers in handwritten copies until parts of it was published in Peking about 1930 under the title: *Yeke Yuwan ulus-un teüke* (History of the Great Yüan Dynasty). However this Peking edition contained only twelve chapters of the original work and lacked the important introductory section by the author. It was in 1940 that the Mongolian Literary Society in K'ailu first published a lithographic edition of the 69-chapter version with the introductory parts (eight out of twelve).

With the publication of the K'ailu edition of the *Köke sudur*, Injannasi and his major work were introduced to the general reader for the first time. The search for the complete version of his manuscript continued. But the downfall of the puppet regime of Manchukuo in 1945, the dissolution of the Mongolian printing house in K'ailu and ensuing events, made research and studies on the *Köke sudur* virtually stand still for a number of years.

It was in the 1950's that research on Injannasi and his work was taken up by Mongolian scholars both in the Mongolian People's Republic and in Inner Mongolia. A new edition of the 69-chapter version of the *Köke sudur* in three volumes was published in 1957 in Köke-Qota, the capital of the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region; other works of the author were also published together with a number of articles, and pamphlets by Mongolian literary researchers.

Although the *Köke sudur* has been known to Western scholars, no translations or detailed studies have been made so far owing to the fact of the relative newness of the work, the inaccessibility of manuscripts and printed editions, and the bulkiness of this work.

The aim of this dissertation is to evaluate the historical and literary value of the *Köke sudur* and its literary position in Mongolian literature, and to open up further study of its content from different disciplines.

Since the study of the *Köke sudur* is still in its initial stages, my aim is to give a broad introduction to the *Köke sudur* by examining the existing texts and manuscripts of the work, the studies and researches done on the author and his work, the life and works of the author and his family and the motives and aims behind the writing of the *Köke sudur*. Its historical value and literary position are then treated by analyzing its content. Some of the folkloristic-legendary episodes are traced and compared with earlier Mongolian chronicles; the author's literary forms are discussed with illustrative excerpts translated into English.

The author's extensive introductory section is in itself a literary achievement of great value which gives many details about the author and his family, the reason for his undertaking the *Köke sudur* and his viewpoint and philosophy. It thus well reflects the social psyche of 19th century Mongolia. It is for this reason I have provided a complete translation of this section with annotations. Since the *Köke sudur* is a bulky work and it would be impossible to provide a complete translation at this time, I have translated the lead poems at the head of each chapter together with listings of major events described in the chapter.

Unfortunately, as far as can be known, the manuscripts used for preparation of the printed editions of the *Köke sudur* no longer exist. Therefore, much of my study is based on the latest Köke-qota printed edition. However, there exists an incomplete manuscript bearing the same title "*Yeke yuwan ulus-un manduğsan törü-yin Köke sudur*" from the very hand of the author, but found to be an entirely new work, although based on the same subject. This manuscript was discovered first by Walther Heissig during his sojourn in Inner Mongolia in the 1940's. He was able to obtain a photographic copy at that time. Thanks to Professor Heissig, I was able to make a Xerox copy of it and to incorporate a study of this manuscript into this dissertation. This manuscript, known as the Tümed manuscript of the *Köke sudur*, is very important for the study of the *Köke sudur* since it is the only known manuscript of the same work. Therefore, I have also provided a translation of its lead poems of each chapter and listed its contents for comparison.

Finally, I have provided a selective index of names which appear in the Köke-qota edition, since many of them are historical personages from the sources used by the author. It is also important for historical and folkloristic studies.

CHAPTER I

EXISTING TEXTS AND STUDIES OF THE *KÖKE SUDUR*

A. Manuscripts and Printed Editions

The *Köke sudur* was not printed during the lifetime of the author, Injannasi, but circulated among the Mongols in handwritten copies of various length. Although we know the author intended to write the history of the whole period of the Great Mongol Empire, from Cinggis Khan to the end of the Yüan dynasty,[1] a period covering the years 1162–1368, the manuscripts found so far only cover the period 1162–1236, i. e. the lifetime of Cinggis (1162–1227) plus eight years of Ögedei's reign (1229–1241).[2] There existed at one time or another at least two different manuscripts by the author bearing the same title: *Yeke yuwan ulus-un manduğsan törü-yin köke sudur*. One consists of sixty-nine chapters covering the period 1162–1236 and eight of twelve parts of the original introductory part (*Tobcitu tolta*) by the author. It is this version in sixty-nine chapters which was handcopied and printed in various editions. The other manuscript, known as the Tümed Manuscript (TM), consists of chapters 43–72 of a work with the same title, but it is a different compilation covering the period 1206–1209. There is a belief that the whole of the *Köke sudur* consisted of a total of 120 chapters,[3] but we do not know whether or not the author actually completed the whole work.

1. *The various known editions made from the sixty-nine chapter version*: At present we have very little information as to the whereabouts of the original manuscript of the sixty-nine chapter version. Although the publisher's foreword to the 1957 Köke-qota printed edition (*infra*) states that the author's "incomplete manuscript" was consulted in making the edition, we are not sure whether this is a reference to the TM. As a matter of fact, when Erdeni-toğtaqu published his pamphlet *Injannasi* (Köke-qota, 1958), he did not specify which version of manuscript or manuscripts they found at the author's home, but the pamphlet carried a photo-plate of the first page of chapter XLIV of TM (Book XV), with the caption: "The manuscript of *Köke sudur* . . .". According to Erdeni-toğtaqu, two separate visits were made in 1956 and 1957 to the home of Injannasi in Tümed Right Banner by Erdeni-toğtaqu and his colleague Sodubilig, for the purpose of obtaining Injannasi's manuscripts and a collection of research materials on the author and his family.[4] Erdeni-toğtaqu and

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[1] In part four of the *Tobcitu tolta* (See fn. 18 on p. 52) p. 34:1, the author states that the whole of *Köke sudur* covers a total of over two hundred years.

[2] Third son of Cinggis, who succeeded the Great Khan.

[3] See Erdeni-toğtaqu, "Injannasi ba tegün-ü jokiyal-un tuqai" (1956), p. 4.

[4] Erdeni-toğtaqu tells us in the beginning of his *Injannasi* (1958):

"... my colleague Sodubilig and myself visited the home of Injannasi for the first time in 1956. We interviewed more than twenty persons who knew some-his colleague were successful in obtaining "over a hundred" mementos relating to the author.[5] However, we are not told any particulars of the manuscripts found.[6]

The Peking Printed Edition (PK) This is the first printed edition of the *Köke sudur*, typeset by the *Mongğol bicig-ün qoriyan* (Mongolian Book Company)[7] in 1929/30, with the title: *Yüwan ulus-un teüke* (The History of the Yüan Empire) in 4 volumes, 284 folios. It contains chapters I–XII of the sixty-nine chapter version of the KS, but without the important introductory parts (*Tobcitu tolta*). This was the edition reported by Louis Ligeti in his *Rapport préliminaire d'un voyage d'exploration fait en Mongolie chinoise 1928–31.*[8] Descriptions of this PK edition and the subsequent K'ailu edition (*infra*) of the KS have been published by Walther Heissig in his excellent article: "Einige Bemerkungen über die *Köke Sudur*, eine neuere Mongolische Darstellung der Yüan-Zeit."[9]

The K'ailu Edition (KL) It consists of 13 volumes, 1985 pages in one case, a lithographic edition by the *Mongğol udq-a-yin surğal-un qural* (The Mongolian Literary Society),[10] K'ailu 開魯, in 1940. It contains chapters I–LXIX of the KS in 12 volumes plus eight parts of the original twelve parts of the introductory section in one volume. This edition is the largest edition of the KS, and covers the period from 1162 to 1236. Although this edition served as the first popular introduction of the KS to the Mongolian public, unfortunately the printing technique was very poor and there are pages which are extremely difficult to read. This edition became the basis of the Köke-qota edition and will be discussed at length in conjunction with the latter.

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thing about Injannasi and met some of his descendants. We searched his mementos and brought back with us some of his works, manuscripts, paintings, and books he read and used as reference, over twenty items. Some of these have already been described in journals. But we were still not satisfied with our discoveries and made our second visit in the following year. This time we were able to bring back with us the incomplete manuscript of his novel *Ulağan önggeten-ü nilbusu*, a collection of poems, paintings and especially the restoration of Injannasi's self-portrait which was preserved until it was damaged in the flood of 1949 . . ."

[5] In a later article "Injannasi ba tegün-ün jokiyal-un tuqai" (1959), Erdeni-toğtaqu informs us that the two visits to the home of Injannasi resulted in finding of "over a hundred" items of mementos related to the author (p. 2) and Injannasi's manuscripts alone reached a total of 1,500,000 words (p. 4).

[6] Although Erdeni-toğtaqu informs us in his *Injannasi* that their findings were described in journals, we have no bibliographical details of these descriptions.

[7] See John R. Krueger, "The Monggol Bicig-ün Qoriya" *Collectanea Mongolica. Festschrift für Professor Dr. Rintchen zum 60. Geburtstag*, Wiesbaden, 1966, pp. 109–115, for a description of this book company.

[8] Publication de la Société Körösi Csoma, Budapest, 1933, p. 23.

[9] *Monumenta Serica*, vol. VIII (1943), pp. 244–259.

[10] For a description of Inner Mongolian publishing houses and their publications see: Walther Heissig, "Mongolische Neudrucke und Neuerscheinungen", *Monumenta Serica*, vol. VIII (1943), pp. 260–279.

The Kalgan Edition Chapters I–XVIII plus the introductory section of the sixty-nine chapter version was published in one volume by the *Terigün noyan-u ordun-u darmalun ğajar* (Printing House of the Presidential Palace, Kalgan, 1945).[11]

The Köke-qota Edition (KQ) In 1957 the *Öbür mongğol-un arad-un keblel-ün qoriy-a* (Inner Mongolian People's Printing House) published the KS in 3 volumes, X+ 2161 pages ($5^1/_2$ x $8^1/_4$ in.), typeset and bound in hard covers, bearing the abbreviated title *Köke sudur* on its cover and spine. This edition was largely based on the KL, but edited according to the modern standard orthography. The present dissertation is based on this edition for the translation of the introductory parts and content analysis.

Ulan-Bator Manuscript A manuscript of the KS exists in the Ulan-Bator State Library under the title: *Yeke yuwan ulus-un manduğsan törü-yin Köke sudur*, in twelve volumes, 271 folios. It coincides with the 12 chapters contained in the PK edition.[12]

Copenhagen Manuscripts A manuscript of the KS, in photostat, 15 volumes, size 20×28.5 cm. with the title: *Yeke yuwan ulus-un teüke*. It contains 29 chapters of the KS. It agrees with KL, vol. 1, 1 to V, 132. This manuscript is kept in the Copenhagen Royal Library.[13] A photostat of a shortened and variant copy of only chapters I–IV is also in the same library.[14]

2. *The Tümed Manuscript*: We owe a debt of gratitude to the German Mongolist Professor Walther Heissig for his diligent search for the manuscript of the KS. The result is that we now possess a photostatic copy of the so-called Tümed Manuscript. Discovery of this all-important manuscript and a description of the same are to be found in Heissig's above-quoted article "Einige Bemerkungen . . ." and his book, *A Lost Civilization, the Mongols Rediscovered* (1966).[15] According to Heissig, he discovered this manuscript during his sojourn in Inner Mongolia, from a Mongolian bibliophile, Keshingga, in Hsinking in 1942, and made a photo-copy spending days photographing the whole manuscript, which consists of nearly 1400 pages.

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[11] The writer of this dissertation was a member of the Secretariat of the Presidential Palace of the Inner Mongolian government during 1943–1945 and participated in the editorial board for various publication activities. I recall that this particular edition of KS was based on the KL and PK and no manuscript was used in preparing it.

[12] This appears to be a handwritten copy of the Peking edition. I was able to compare this edition with PK, during my visits to Mongolia in the summers of 1967 and 1969. Cf. Tsewel's *Catalogue* p. 64, item No. 30, Call No. 780.

[13] Call No. MONG. 521, information kindly supplied by Prof. John R. Krueger.

[14] Call No. MONG. 522, information kindly supplied by Prof. John R. Krueger.

[15] See also Walther Heissig, *Mongolische Handschriften, Blockdrucke, Landkarten* (Wiesbaden, 1961), pp. 11–13. A copy of the original photocopy is deposited in the Westdeutsche Bibliothek Marburg. Professor Heissig kindly permitted me to make a duplicate copy of this manuscript copy in the Seminar für Sprach- und Kulturwissenschaft Zentralasiens, Bonn.

The discovered manuscript consists of chapters XLIII–LXXII of a different version of the *Köke sudur*, but one with the same title: *Yeke yuwan ulus-un manduğsan törü-yin köke sudur*. It consists of nine stitched books in the Chinese double-page style (14 cm x 19 cm), each consisting of about 150 pages.[16] It is this manuscript, in whole or part, which was discovered by the Inner Mongolian scholars Erdeni-toğtaqu and Sodubilig, and is said to be kept in the *Öbür monggol-un teüke kele bicig-i sudulqu ğajar* (Inner Mongolian Research Institute of History, Language and Literature) in Köke-qota.[17] Erdeni-toğtaqu informs us in his pamphlet of the great flood of 1949 in which some of Injannasi's works were damaged. But we do not have any detailed information as to the condition of the Tümed Manuscript. For all we know, Professor Heissig's manuscript might well be the sole and largest manuscript in existence today. The contents of the Tümed Manuscript and its relation to the printed edition, i. e. the sixty-nine chapter version, will be discussed in a later chapter.

3. *Other manuscripts*: A 15 vol. manuscript is said to be kept in the Leningrad Library.[18] A blueprint copy from the Peking National Library, 12 vol., 249 folios, 10 lines; incomplete, chapters I–XVIII, is in the possession of L. Hambis, Paris.[19] Both of these appear to have originated from the sixty-nine chapter version. There is also other information reporting the existence of *Köke sudur* manuscripts, but at present we have no means to verify these reports.[20]

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[16] There is some discrepancy as to the number of books found by Heissig in his article "Einige Bemerkungen . . ." and his later reports. In the 1943 article Heissig describes the TM that he found in Hsinking as having 11 stitched books covering the period of 1204–1209. What he now possesses is two books short. It appears that Heissig did see two extra books (chapters XXXVII–XLII), but for some reason, Heissig was able to make a photo copy of only nine books.

[17] See publisher's preface to the KQ, Vol. I, p. 2.

[18] Namjiltseween, "Khökh sudryn sudlahlyn tovchlol", p. 4.

[19] Information kindly supplied by Prof. Heissig.

[20] According to the private notes of Professor Heissig, he has the following oral statements made to him by various informants on the existence of other texts of *Köke sudur* in various parts of Inner Mongolia (notes made in 1942-43).

a. According to Manijab, a certain Japanese by the name of Namura obtained a manuscript from Bo Wang banner (Qorcin jegün ğarun qoitu qosiğun), Bayan manqan ail, with the title *Yüwan ulus-un sudur* in 49 debters (books). Manijab believed that this text contained the entire *Köke sudur*.

b. According to Kesingga, Mönggün-ağula, the prince of Qorcin Central Banner, possesses a manuscript of KS and it consists of the same text from which the KQ was made.

c. According to hearsay, *Köke sudur* manuscripts also supposedly exist in Tümed Left Banner and Kuriye Banner.

d. According to T. Kobayashi, he heard that the lCaṅ skya Khutukhtu of Wu-t'ai shan possesses a manuscript of KS, which covers as far as to the Ch'ing dynasty. [See *Mōkotaikan*, Tokyo, 1938, p. 138.]

B. *Studies of the Köke Sudur*

Although the *Köke sudur* has been known since the beginning of this century and was mentioned by such Mongolists as Žamtsarano, Vladimirtsov, and Ligeti in the 1920's, it did not receive much attention until the publication of Walther Heissig's above-quoted article. It was in the middle of the 1950's at the height of literary activities in Inner Mongolia that the *Köke sudur* and other works of Injannasi began to receive renewed attention among Inner Mongolian scholars as well as scholars in the Mongolian People's Republic. However, *Köke sudur* study is very much in its initial stages both in Mongolia and in the West. So far there is no critical edition of the *Köke sudur* nor translation to any other language. Following is a brief summary of what has been done on the *Köke sudur*, in Mongolia and in the West, to my knowledge.

1. *The Study of the Köke Sudur in Mongolia*

In 1956 research on Injannasi and his works was taken up by two Inner Mongolian scholars, Erdeni-toğtaqu and Sodubilig who visited the home of Injannasi in Tümed Right Banner, Jusutu Confederation, first in 1956, and again in the following year. The results of these trips were the publication of the KQ (1957) and a pamphlet by Erdeni-toğtaqu: *Injannasi* (1958). Erdeni-toğtaqu's pamphlet contains biographical information, hitherto unknown, on the author Injannasi and his family, and a general introduction of his works with some excerpts of poems, songs and essays. At the end of the booklet it also contained some ten photographic plates, showing Injannasi's self portrait, his estate, samples of his manuscripts, paintings, etc.

I have already mentioned the fact that among these photographic plates a page of the Tümed Manuscript was included as a sample of the author's original manuscript of the *Köke sudur*. It is also interesting to note that five out of seven essays contanied in this booklet attributed to the author were from the Tümed Manuscript. Therefore, these essays constitute parts of the *Köke sudur*. (See chapter seven.)

Erdeni-toğtaqu also published a number of articles in newspapers and in journals on Injannasi and his works.[21] He delivered a paper at the First International Congress of Mongolists which was held in Ulan-Bator in 1959 with the title: "Injannasi ba tegün-ü jokiyal-un tuqai" (On Injannasi and His Works).[22]

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[21] An article on Injannasi and his works appeared in *Kuang-ming Jih-pao* 光明日報, No. 2995, October 6, 1957, in the section "Literary Heritage" #177, with the title: "About the Distinguished Mongolian Author Injannasi and His Works" by Erdeni-toğtaqu (in Chinese).

Other articles by Erdeni-toğtaqu are: "Monggul-un ğarmağai jokiyalci Injannasi ba tegün-ü jokiyal-un tuqai" (Distinguished Mongolian Author Injannasi and His Works), *Monggul kele biciq* (Mongolian Language and Literature), No. 2, 1957, pp. 3–8. "Injannasi-yi dursaqay-a" (In Memory of Injannasi), No. 5, 1957 of the same journal. I have not been able to examine these two articles.

However, the first person to have published a study of the KS as such was Namjiltseween, an Inner Mongolian student who studied under Professor Damdinsüren and defended his Candidate of Philology Degree with a thesis entitled: *Khökh sudryn sudlal* (A Study of the Köke Sudur), in Mongolian, in 1959. A synopsis of this was published under the title "Khökh sudryn sudlalyn tovchlol" (A Synopsis of the Study of the *Köke Sudur*), in Ulan Bator, 1959.[23]

Namjiltseween's thesis consits of five parts: introduction; the *Tobcitu-tolta* (the introductory parts of the KS); the view points of the author; the literary style and national forms; plus preface and summary. This thesis constitutes the first attempt by a native scholar to study the *Köke sudur*, and it is a significant contribution to the study of it. However, its treatment of textual development, source materials, and literary position are inadequate as a definitive study of the *Köke sudur*. This thesis will be referred to at appropriate sections of this dissertation.

Thanks to the activities of Erdeni-toğtaqu, Namjiltseween and others, the study of the *Köke sudur* saw its greatest upsurge during the 1950's, continuing until the present. Most of the literary studies and literary readers from Mongolia now include short biographical sketches of Injannasi and selections from his works.[24]

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[22] See Bibliography for publication data.

[23] Namjiltseween, "Khökh sudryn sudlalyn tovchlol" (A Synopsis of the Study of the *Köke Sudur*), BNMAU, Shinjlekh ukhaan, Deed bolovsrolyn khüreelen (Committee of Science and Higher Education) MPR, Ulan-Bator, 1959. p. 14.

Although Damdinsüren informs us in his *jağun bilig* (infra) that Namjiltseween's thesis was being prepared for publication, it has not yet been published to my knowledge. An article with the title: "Teüken Roman 'Yeke yuwan ulus-un manduğsan törü-yin köke sudur'-un ündüsüten-ü kelberi" was published in one of the Inner Mongolian journals (date and journal unknown). I was able to obtain a reprint of this article and it appears to be an excerpt of a chapter of his dissertation.

[24] Part three of the *Tobcitu-tolta* and Chapter XXXIII of KS (based on KQ) was published by Professor Ts. Damdinsüren in his: *Monggol uran jokiyal-un degeji jağun bilig orusibai* (The Hundred Best Works of Mongolian Literature). Ulan-Bator, 1956, # 81, pp. 522–537, with a short biographical notice.

"V. Injinash 'Khökh sudar' tüükhen romanaas" (From the Historical Novel by W. Injannasi), *Unshikh bichig* (Literary Reader). Ulan-Bator, 1961, pp. 221–234 (Chapter III of KQ); "Shülgüüdees" (From his Poems), pp. 235–238; "V. Injinash (1837–1892)" (About the author), pp. 259–265.

G. Jamsranjav, "Vanchinbalyn Injnashiin romanuudyn tukhai" (On the novels of Wangcinbala Injannasi), *Mongolyn uran zokhiolyn toim* (A Sketch of Mongolian Literature), Vol. III, pp. 75–117. Edited by Ts. Damdinsüren, Ulan-Bator, 1968.

2. *The Study of the Köke Sudur in the West*

The existence of a manuscript of the KS in 15 vols. in the St. Petersburg Library in 1909 was recorded in the notes of the famed Mongolist Ts. Žamtsarano.[25] The first Western scholar to report the existence of the KS was the Hungarian Mongolist Louis Ligeti in his *Rapport préliminaire* .... Ligeti calls the KS "un ouvrage historique d'une importance considérable". B. Vladimirtsov, however dismissed the KS as a "*roman*", partially translated from Chinese.[26]

The only, but significant, article in the West on the KS was Heissig's "Einige Bemerkungen . . ." of 1943, in which Professor Heissig gives us the first report of the K'ailu edition and the discovery of TM, information on the author, and preliminary remarks and observation of the KS. At the conclusion of his informative article, Professor Heissig states:

> "To call the *Köke sudur* just a novel is not correct when one considers our knowledge of the historical-moral point of view of the author. According to Injanasi's intentions, the *Köke sudur* was a newly written clarification from Chinese historical facts of the Yüan period (taken from information from Chinese historical works of the Yüan period) from the Mongolian point of view. His description, however is of epic scope in that poetry is closely related to truth, historical events to old tradition and legend. Thus, the *Köke sudur* cannot be considered a chronicle in the narrow sense, but as an historical timepicture between novel and chronicle."

Although Heissig did not undertake further publication on the *Köke sudur*, he never lost his deep interest in the *Köke sudur* and other works by Injannasi. Many of his articles and books on Mongolistics carry information on the author and his works.

The author of this dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment for the degree of Master of Arts in the Faculty of Philosophy, Columbia University, in 1963, a thesis entitled "Injannasi (1837–1892) and His Historical Novel *Köke Sudur*." This was a preliminary attempt to introduce the author and his major work the *Köke sudur*, and it included some translations of the author's essays, poems and a general description of the *Köke sudur*. However, at that time I was not able to obtain KQ, TM and a number of important materials which since became available to me, hence it was limited in scope.

From the foregoing it can be seen that study on the *Köke sudur* in the West is also limited. And the results of the researches of Mongolian scholars are not yet available in Western publications. Even the meager quantity of research on the *Köke sudur* by Heissig must constitute the first beginning of scientific study of the *Köke sudur*. Therefore the statement by Namjiltseween:

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[25] Namjiltseween, "A Synopsis . . .", p. 4.

[26] B. Vladimirtsov, *Le Régime social des Mongols*, Paris, 1948, (originally in Russian, *Obshschestvennyi stroj Mongolov* Aka. Nauk, Leningrad, 1936), p. 16.

> ". . . Not to mention that no foreign Mongolists have done any research on *Köke sudur*, even the existence of this work is almost unknown to foreign Mongolists."[27]

must stand corrected.

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[27] Namjiltseween, "A Synopsis . . .", p. 4.

CHAPTER II

THE AUTHOR

Injannasi tells us in the introductory parts (*Tobcitu tolta*) of the *Köke sudur*, that it was his father Wangcinbala (1795–1847) who began the writing of the *Köke sudur*, but was interrupted by the Opium War (1840) when he was called for military duty.[1] According to Injannasi, his father finished only eight chapters of the *Köke sudur* in four volumes and was never able to resume work on the *Köke sudur* because of his official duties before his death in 1847. Did Injannasi simply continue his writing from the point where his father had left off, or did he rewrite the whole work from the beginning based on the framework left by his father? How much did Wangcinbala's original work influence the writing of Injannasi? We may never be able to answer these questions since we do not possess Wangcinbala's original manuscript. The first eight chapters which came down to us through the 69-chapter version do not suggest any stylistic difference from the remaining 61 chapters. At places where authorship is implied, they point to Injannasi rather than to his father.[2] There is no doubt that Injannasi did edit the eight chapters his father left him, but how much of the original materials was retained by Injannasi is unknown.

Wangcinbala, also known by his Chinese name Pao Ching-shan 包荆山 was a *tusalağci taiji*[3] (a prince, second in command of a banner) of the Tümed Right Banner[4] of the Jusutu Confederation[5] of Inner Mongolia (the present Pei-p'iao Hsien 北票縣 of Liao-ning 遼寧 province).[6]

Eight sons were born to Wangcinbala and his wife, Lady Mayušaka. They were Gülaransa, Sudandani, Müniyašu, Münilüka, Güngnacüka, Süngwaidanjung, Injannasi and Lügüngjüngnai. Among these eight sons, four grew to manhood, namely: Gülaransa, Güngnacüka, Süngwaidanjung and Injannasi.

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[1] TT. Pt. II, p. 11.

[2] In Chapter I, p. 107, the author gives the date 1871, whereas his father Wangcinbala died in 1847. Other places where an author is implied are: Chapter III p. 160:10–12); Chapter III, p. 190; Chapter VIII, p. 322:1; 343:8.

[3] *tusalağci* mo. "assistant". A *tusalağci* in the Mongolian banner system was the chief administrator and military commander of a banner and was next in command under the ruling prince. *taiji* is a loan word from Chinese t'ai-tzŭ "heir-apparent" which became a term in Mongolian to designate the descendants of Cinggis Khan. *taijis* were institutionalized during Manchu rule (1644–1911) as hereditary noble ranks.

[4] During the Manchu domination over Mongolia, Mongolia was divided into many "banners" (qosiğun) each ruled by a ruling prince. The banners were subdivided into a number of "arrows" (sumun) each of which supplied 150 cavalry troops.

[5] A number of banners were organized into a "confederation" (ciğulğan) and a senior prince among the ruling princes was appointed by the Manchu court as the chief prince of the confederation in supervising banner administration and military preparedness. Military inspection and discussion of banner affairs were held at a specified place and time, hence the term *ciqulğan* which means "meeting" and has been rendered in Western literature as "league" or "confederation".

[6] See Erdeni-toğtaqu, 1958, p. 6.

Wangcinbala was a well-educated man of his time and the initiator of the writing of the *Köke sudur*, who possessed a library of "five cart-loads of books."[7] Some of his poems have come down to us, but there are no other works attributed to him.[8] A *tusalağci taiji* of a banner is the chief administrator of the banner and also the commander of the banner troops. During the Opium War, Mongolian cavalry was called to defend certain areas along the seacoast. Wangcinbala and his banner troops were assigned to defend In-k'ou, and we were told that Wangcinbala and his troops were victorious in a skirmish with the invading British troops near Chin Chou.[9] Immediately after this he was ordered by the Manchu court to be stationed in South China for a number of years.[10] These duties, as Injannasi tells us, prevented him from the pursuit of literary activities.[11]

Wangcinbala's eldest son was Gülaransa (1820–1851), who took over his father's post as the *tusalağci*. He was a poet and also known for his translation of the famous Chinese novel *Shui-hu chuan* 水滸傳 (All Men are Brothers) into Mongolian.[12]

Gülaransa, too, had the ambition of resuming his father's work on the *Köke sudur*, Injannasi tells us, but he too was not able to take up the work because he had to resume his father's official post as *tusalağci*, and died not long after in 1851.

Both of Injannasi's two other brothers, Güngnacüka and Süngwaidanjung were also poets of some accomplishment and were both well-educated in Mongolian, Manchu and Chinese.

Güngnacüka (1832–1866), the fifth son of Wangcinbala, was also a poet and wrote poems as well as essays on poetry.[13] According to Injannasi, Güngnacüka too attempted to resume his father's work on the *Köke sudur* with his two younger brothers after the death of Gülaransa. Each time they gave up the task because of the difficulty of the work.

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[7] See TT. Pt. III, p. 31.

[8] Samples of his poems were first published by Erdeni-toğtaqu, 1958, pp. 7–8.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 7.

[10] *Mongolyn uran zokhiolyn toim*, Vol. III, p. 76.

[11] TT. Pt. II, pp. 11–12.

[12] Samples of his poems were first published by Erdeni-toğtaqu, 1958, p. 8.; thirteen of his poems were published in Damdinsüren's *Jağun bilig* pp. 519–522.

The largest collection of Gülaransa's poems was published by Erdeni-toğtaqu in his *Gülaransa, Danjinwangjil, Kesigbatu* [A collection of poems by three Inner Mongolian poets], *Öbür monggol-un arad-un keblel* (Inner Mongolian People's Publishing House), Köke-qota, 1959. It contains some 41 poems by Gülaransa.

[13] See Erdeni-toğtaqu, 1958, p. 9. Also: *Mongolyn uran zokhiolyn toim*, Vol. III, p. 78.; *Unshikh bichig, Dund surguuliin X angid uzne*, Vol. I. Ulan-Bator, 1961, p. 249.

In Injannasi's words:

> "Therefore, this work was neglected for some thirty years. Although my brothers Güng [Güngnacüka], Süng [Süngwaidanjung] and myself, the three of us, at times attempted to resume the compilation of this work by spreading out the manuscript, each time we found the years, and names (in it) had become obsolete and confused. We found it extremely difficult to edit the work and had to give it up."[14]

Süngwaidanjung (1834–1898),[15] the sixth son of Wangcinbala, who outlived all his other brothers, assisted to a large extent in writing the *Köke sudur*. He was a poet, historian and translator. He completed his brother Gülaransa's unfinished translation of the *Shui-hu chuan*, and translated the great Chinese historical work *T'ung-chien kang-mu* 通鑑綱目,[16] into Mongolian to serve as a reference work for Injannasi. He read his brother's work and wrote some verses for the *Köke sudur*.[17] There are a number of notes and verses inserted by Süngwaidanjung on the TM which will be discussed later.

Süngwaidanjung was a *tamağ-a qamiyaruğsan tusalağci taiji* ("*tusalağci taiji* in charge of the seal") of his banner.[18] We know from his few remarks on the TM that he admired his brother's work and encouraged and helped Injannasi in his work on the *Köke sudur*.

Such was the family of Injannasi: a highly literate family among the nobles of Inner Mongolia. Injannasi, a *taiji* by birth, derived his line of descent from the fourth son of Cinggis, Toli, and was in the twenty-eighth generation from the Great Khan.[19]

Injannasi[20] was the seventh son of Wangcinbala and was born on May 20, 1837 (the sixteenth day of the fourth month of the seventeenth year of the reign of Emperor Tao-kuang and the year of the Red Cock) at Injannasi's family estate Sidurğu batu qoruğan (Chung Hsin Fu 忠信府) "Mansion of

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[14] TT. Pt. II, p. 12. This statement attests the fact that the manuscript left by his father was not in the best of condition when Injannasi finally took up the work.

[15] He was also known by the Chinese name Pao Sung-shan 包嵩山, and Chinese style Tsung-yü 琮玉. See TM Book XV, Chapter XLV, p. 151.

[16] Tzŭ chih t'ung chien kang mu 資治通鑑綱目 by Chu hsi 朱熹 (1130–1200), an abridged adaption of the T'ung Chien 通鑑 "Comprehensive Mirror" by Ssu Ma Kuan 司馬光 in 209 vols. completed in A. D. 1084. This work is still considered the standard history of China.

[17] See Erdeni-toğtaqu, 1958, p. 9.

[18] Each of the Mongolian banners had two tusalağci, and at times, the senior of the two was also referred to as *tamağ-a qamiyaruğsan tusalağci*.

[19] TT. Pt. III, p. 21.

[20] Injannasi's childhood name was Qascilağu. He had a Chinese name: Pao Heng-shan 包衡山, and a Chinese style: Jung-t'ing 潤廷.

Loyalty and Trust",[21] and died on February 25, 1892 in Chin Chou City 錦州市 at the age of fifty-five.[22]

Injannasi's Life and Works

Injannasi, born into such an illustrious family, was well educated in the Mongolian, Chinese and Manchu languages and was brought up under Confucian teachings and Lama Buddhist traditions. Before he reached the age of twenty, he had already composed verses in Mongolian and painted Chinese brush paintings.[23]

In the introductory section to the *Köke sudur*, Injannasi does not mention the names of his wives or of his first son. We know that he married twice, that his first wife was the daugther of the Kharachin Prince Sebegdorji, and that his second son's name was Ciyamakar-a, born when Injannasi was 29 years old. His first wife died when Injannasi was "nearing the age of twenty".[24]

During his lifetime, Injannasi did not assume any official post. His attitude toward his contemporary noble class made him an outcast from his peers but much respected by commoners. He was remembered by many of his contemporaries as a person "who does not toady to the powerful ones, and who does not trample on the lowly".[25] Although he was a Lama Buddhist by birth, his Confucianist upbringing often put him at loggerheads with the teachings of Lama Buddhism. He was deeply influenced by the Chinese Confucian classics and Chinese literature, yet he remained an ardent nationalist deeply disturbed by the decline of his people and the rapid disappearance of the old traditions.

It was during his early thirties that Injannasi's life came to a turning point. By now, his father and brothers Gülaransa and Güngnacüka had died. A series of events led to the downfall of his family's power and fortune.[26]

The T'aiping Rebellion (1850–1864) caused many uprisings among the peasants of Inner Mongolia, and in 1870, the entire crop of Injannasi's family was lost to a rebellious band of their own farmers. Injannasi's family venture in opening a coal mine in Jalan (Cha-lan 札蘭) also caused a loss of capital. Some of Injannsi's family lands had to be sold to pay the mine workers.[27] These losses caused a great shock to the life of a scholar who knew very little of how to manage a great estate. Death and sickness in the family and the downfall of his family fortune greatly agitated Injannasi. To escape from the pressure, Injannasi took refuge in his literary works.[28]

Two other novels by Injannasi have come down to us: *Nigen dabqar asar* (The One Story Pavilion)[29] also known by its Chinese title *I-tseng Lou*, published for the first time in 1938, and its continuation *Ulağan-a ukilaqu tingkim* (The Pavilion of Scarlet Tears),[30] also known by its Chinese title *Ch'i Hung T'ing* 泣紅亭, published in 1939 by the same Mongolian Literary Society in K'ailu.[31] A third work *Ulağan önggeten-ü nilbusu* (Tears of Scarlet Beings), incomplete, discovered recently by Erdeni-toğtaqu, is said to be the maiden work by Injannasi in his early twenties.[32]

Injannasi and his brothers read and admired such famed Chinese novels as *Hung Lou Mêng* 紅樓夢 (Dream of the Red Chamber)[33] which motivated the author to write in his own language imitating the Chinese work. Although at first glance his works appear to be translations from Chinese works with Chinese characters and settings, they are not translations, but original creations by the author in his native language, Mongolian.

Nigen dabqar asar consists of 32 chapters (about 120,000 words), and the *Ulağan-a ukilaqu tingkim* consists of 20 chapters (about 80,000 words). We do not know the exact dates of composition of these works; according to the preface in the new Köke-qota edition Injannasi probably wrote these works during 1872–1882,[34] that is, after the completion of the 69-chapter version of the *Köke sudur*.

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[21] Erdeni-toğtaqu, 1958, p. 6, gives the date of May 15, 1837 for the sixteenth day of the fourth month of the seventeenth year of Tao-kuang. [The figure 6 was misprinted which made it the 19th day of the 4th month]. According to *1820–2020 erh pai nien li piao*, Tzŭ-chin shan t'ien wen t'ai, Nanking, 1959, it gives May 20, 1837.

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 31, Erdeni-toğtaqu gives the date February 22, 1892 for the 27th day of the new moon of the 18th year of Kuang-hsü which falls on February 25, 1892 in the above quoted work.

[23] *Ibid.*, p. 10.

[24] A poem entitled "Ğuturil" (Grief) by Injannasi indicates that he married "nearing the age of two tens", and his wife died soon after. See Erdeni-toğtaqu, 1958, p. 77.

[25] *Ibid.*, p. 32.

[26] TT. Pt. II, p. 12.

[27] Erdeni-toğtaqu, 1958, p. 12.

[28] *Ibid., loc. cit.*

[29] The Mongolian *nigen dabqar asar* and Chinese *I-tseng lou* means literally "one story pavilion or tower". The Chinese phrase *i-tseng-lou* 一層樓 does occur in T'ang poetry by Wang Chih-huan "Teng Kuan-ch'iao lou" (Climbing "Crane Tower") which reads: 白日依山盡黃河入海流欲窮千里目更上一層樓. In context, the phrase in question means: ". . . in order to enjoy the panorama, one must climb up *one more story*."

[30] Literally "a hall in which one weeps for the red (ones)".

[31] For a description of the first edition of *Nigen dabqar asar* and *Ulağan-a ukilaqu tingkim* (Heissig: *Gi qung ting*), see Heissig, "Mongolische Neudrucke . . ." pp. 272–273.

A new edition of *Nigen dabqar asar* and *Ulağana ukilaqu tingkim* was published by the *Öbür mongğol-un arad-un keblel-ün qoriy-a* (Inner Mongolian People's Publishing House), Köke-qota, 1957.

[32] Erdeni-toğtaqu, 1958, p. 1.

[33] Attributed to Ts'ao Hsüeh-ch'in (1724 ?–1764). *Hung-lou Meng* is considered to be the greatest Chinese novel.

[34] *Nigen dabqar asar*, Köke-qota, 1957, p. i.

Although Injannasi informs us in the preface of this work that he had translated the work of a certain Mr. Chingshan of Ch'i-wo-wen clan of Ling River region into Mongolian, we have much information to prove that it was not a simple translation and that the authorship of this work belongs to Injannasi himself.

We know that Wangcinbala's Chinese name was Pao Chin-shan and that Ch'i-wo-wen was the Chinese rendition of the clan name of Cinggis. Ling River is the Chinese name Ta Ling Ho 大凌河 (Great Ling River) for the Uu mören [鄂木倫] (Uu river) which passes through Injannasi's home banner.[35] Could it be a work written by his father Wangcinbala in Chinese and translated by Injannasi? The answer is again in the negative.

The story in the *Dream of the Red Chamber* tells of a great princely family Chia and of its two great branches, the Chung-kuo Fu and Ning-kuo Fu houses. In the *Nigen dabqar asar* the author tells the story of the great family of Pei Hou 北侯 (Marquis of the North) and the happenings centering around Chung Hsin Fu, which is the Chinese name of the author's family estate Sidurğu batu qoruğan. Pu-yü, the son of Marquis Pei around whom the story revolves, and who is the equivalent of Pao-yü, the hero of the *Dream of the Red Chamber*, can be identified as the author himself.

The setting of *Nigen dabqar asar* is the latter part of the 19th century in an agricultural region of Inner Mongolia. The story centers around Pu-yü, the son of the Marquis of the North and three young ladies, cousins of Pu-yü, their romances and tragedy.

Injannasi succeeded in describing the arbitrary decisions made by the parents regarding the marriage of their children and the powerlessness of young people in love. There are many realistic descriptions of his poor and lowly contemporaries and their hardships and sufferings.

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of *Nigen dabqar asar* and *Ulağan-a ukilaqu tingkim* is that in these works the author gives us many interesting glimpses of the life of a Mongolian princely family and life in the Sino-Mongol frontier region. It is true that although all those who appear in these works bear Chinese names and they talk about Chinese literature, live in Chinese-type palatial compounds with gardens and flowers, there are unmistakable Mongolian elements throughout these works. For example, the marriage of Pu-yü to the daughter of Su *Chieh-tu* (governor Su), is a reflection of Injannasi's marriage to the daughter of the Kharachin prince Sebegdorji. The use of *qadağ*[36] and the engagement gifts consisting of units of nine of camels and sheep, immediately suggest things Mongolian. In fact the ceremony takes place in Mongolian fashion in which the bridegroom dons military attire equipped with bow and arrow! After the ceremony when the time arrives for lifting the veil of the bride, the groom uses his bow end for lifting the veil. Unmistakably a Mongolian wedding ceremony is described here.[37]

The incomplete manuscript with the title *Ulağan önggeten-ü nilbusu* (The Tears of Scarlet Beings), according to Erdeni-toğtaqu, is the maiden work of Injannasi which he began to write in his early twenties. The hero, we are told, is a certain Ju-yü 如玉 whom Injannasi identifies as being himself, and the story is about the life and loves of Ju-yü.[38]

There is no doubt that Injannasi was a great poet. In the *Köke sudur* alone (the 69-chapter version) there are some two thousand lines of poems. Poems also constitute considerable portions of his other novels. We know that he began to write poems when he was very young. Manuscripts of some of his poems were found at his home by Erdeni-toğtaqu and his colleague Sodubilig as mentioned elsewhere. Injannasi's poetry shows the richness of his expressions, the abundance of his poetic forms. Whereas he cultivated Mongolian traditional alliterative epic style in his verses, he also introduced many features of Chinese poetry into Mongolian, thereby enriching the poetic methods of his mother tongue.

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[35] *Ibid.*, p. ii. According to Erdeni-toğtaqu, (1958, p. 17) Injannasi did not use his own name in this work for fear of criticism from his contemporaries, because much of his family life is disclosed in the story, which also contained criticism of the contemporary Manchu government.

[36] *qadağ* a long and narrow silk scarf used in Mongolia and Tibet in various ceremonial functions and as gifts.

[37] *Nigen dabqar asar*, Köke-qota, 1957, p. 555. For the whole episode see pp. 529–560.

[38] Erdeni-toğtaqu, 1958, p. 10.

CHAPTER III

THE COMPOSITION OF THE *KÖKE SUDUR*

A. The Motives Behind the Writing of the Köke Sudur

Injannasi was born in a period when the Mongols were facing their greatest threat from Chinese colonization and cultural assimilation. Two centuries of Manchu domination and the astute policy of the Manchu emperors had completely turned the once great Mongol nation into a people plagued by backwardness, ignorance, superstition, disunity, poverty and threatened by ultimate annihilation. By now, the division of Outer Mongolia and Inner Mongolia was firmly established, and both Outer and Inner Mongolia were divided into over a hundred "banners", each ruled by a hereditary prince.

The Manchus carried out a policy of *divide et impera* by granting high honors, insignia, and by giving silk and silver to the Mongolian princes, and an occasional royal princess to a more powerful Mongol prince.

The Manchus conscientiously fostered Tibetan Buddhism among the Mongols by granting numerous privileges to the lama priests and building numerous monasteries and temples all over Mongolia. At the height of the expansion of Buddhism, practically every Mongolian family had one or more celibate lama priests, which contributed to the rapid decrease in population.

At first, the Manchus prevented Chinese colonization in Mongolia in order to preserve the Mongols as cavalry reserves, but during the latter part of the Manchu dynasty, the Manchus were no longer able to hold back the tide of Chinese expansion into Mongolia and their homeland Manchuria. At first, the Mongol princes experimented with farming by Chinese tenant farmers which brought them enormous revenue. Some princes simply sold their lands to raise quick cash in order to support their luxuries at court or to build palaces and gardens imitating the Chinese aristocracy. But soon the Mongols found themselves wanting pastures for their herds. Small Chinese settlements grew into towns overnight on the Mongol doorstep and the Mongols were no longer able to resist the economic and cultural invasion of the Chinese.

The author's home territory, the whole of the Jusutu Confederation, one of the most populated and fertile areas of Inner Mongolia, was almost completely colonized by Chinese by the beginning of the reign of Chia-ch'ing (1796).[1] As the lands were opened for farming, new territorial administrative units were established which were administered by Manchu territorial governors.

Nevertheless, the Mongol princes were able to preserve their administrative power over their subjects and their cavalries. When a small number of Chinese first became tenant farmers of a Mongolian prince, the Mongolian prince as landowner and territorial ruler had complete power over these newly acquired subjects. But when the population of the Chinese farmers increased to such an extent that a new prefecture or territorial administration came into being, they immediately threatened to seize the administrative power from the hands of Mongol princes.

During the Manchu Dynasty, Inner Mongolia was divided into six *ciğulğans* (confederations), four *aimağs* "Aimaks", and a number of special administrative units. The *ciğulğans* and *aimaks* were in turn divided into a number of *qosiğun* (banners). Each of these banners was ruled by a *jasağ*[2] (prince) under the ciğulğan system or an *amban* (governor) under the aimak system. One of the senior princes was appointed head of the confederation.

To reward their early alliance in the conquest of China proper, and to keep their loyalty, the Manchu Emperors not only conferred upon the Mongol princes grand titles and ranks of various degrees, but also established the institution of the hereditary *taiji* and *tabunang*. The *taijis* were the descendants of the House of Cinggis and the *tabunangs* were the imperial sons-in-law. The ruling prince of each banner and his high administrative assistants were chosen from only these noble classes. The *taijis* and *tabunangs* were classified in four degrees and the male offspring of a taiji automatically inherited the *taiji* of the fourth degree. Most of the taijis possessed serfs, power and wealth, but with the increase in the number of taijis, there developed many taijis who had neither office nor wealth.

Under this system, an ordinary Mongolian had very little voice in the banner administration except to serve as a minor clerk. Studies and learning did not help one to gain advancement. During the whole of Manchu rule, the Mongols were kept out of the national competitive examinations, thereby depriving them of the opportunity for advancement in the civil service. To escape the hundreds of services and taxes levied by one's lord prince, the easiest and only way out was to become a lama. Those who attained higher religious training were able to command the respect of even the princes. Even without any training at all, a lama was able to make a comfortable living from the contributions of the faithful. This accounts for the fact that at the height of Lama Buddhism in Mongolia, 40% of the male population were lamas.

The spread of Buddhism in Mongolia brought with it a strong Indo-Tibetan influence in Mongolian art and literature which at first played a significant role in offsetting the ever-increasing Chinese cultural inroads. Despite earlier efforts of the Mongolian religious and secular leaders in creating a body of Mongolian Buddhistic literature, the Tibetan language gradually became the dominant church language. At the same time Tibetan Buddhistic elements relentlessly permeated every facet of Mongolian culture.

With the spread of Buddhism and the dominance of Mongolian scholarship by the Buddhist clergy, a strong tradition of tracing the Mongolian ruling house both to the Tibetan kings and ultimately to the kings of India was established in Mongolian historical writings. Thanks to the lama historians, Mongolian history became hopelessly entangled with Tibetan mythology. The historical Cinggis qan became a legendary Buddhist deity and the great Mongol Empire became a lama Buddhistic fairy tale.

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[1] "Öbür mongğol-un tariyajiju iregsen baidal-un tuqai" (Notes on the development of Farming in Inner Mongolia), by Edünkesig, *Mongğol teüke kele bicig*, No. 2, 1958 (Köke-qota), p. 80.

[2] *jasağ* mo. "law; administration; ruling prince".

Injannasi's Confucianist training could not but help him to question the authenticity of the Mongolian history presented in Buddhistic trappings. To Injannasi the world conquest by Cinggis was a historical fact to be verified by research and study. One of his motives was then to get rid of the predominant Indo-Tibetan elements from Mongolian history. As a scholar of Chinese he knew that Chinese historical works were more accurate than the lama Buddhist writing. But then he was much incensed by the tone and tenor of the Chinese historians, whose interpretations of the Mongol conquest of the middle kingdom were understandably uncomplimentary.

But even more painful to Injannasi was the fact that his contemporary compatriots were suffering hopeless "inferiority complexes" and were losing confidence in themselves.

If only his compatriots could all read a "standard history", an unbiased and objective history of the Mongolian people, they would realize how great their traditions were and would be able to face the future with dignity and hope. One of his motives was then to rebuff Chinese historical writings for their vilification of the Mongols.

B. The Date of Composition

The first occurrence of a date which can serve as a starting point in reference to the composition date of the *Köke sudur* is February 26, 1871 (the eighth day of the white moon of the tenth year of the reign of T'ung-chih) on page 5, in the beginning of *Tobcitu-tolta*, part I. Injannasi gives us his calculations of the important dates of the Buddha and Cinggis and a number of other dates, counting backwards from this date. The same year 1871 was also referred to on pages 106–7, as the current year from which the author calculates the dates of the birth of Cinggis. According to the author, Cinggis was born on the sixteenth day of the fourth moon of the Black Horse year (1162), and this happened 710 years ago . . . counting from 1871, the year in which the author was writing his *Tobcitu-tolta.*

We know his father wrote the first eight chapters of the *Köke sudur* before he went to the Opium War (1840), and that the work was not resumed after some thirty years. Injannasi also states clearly that he undertook the task of completing the *Köke sudur* at the age of thirty-four (Tobcitu-tolta, Pt. III, p. 21:7) which in Mongolian fashion falls in 1870.

In explaining the reason for his undertaking to write the *Köke sudur*, the author states in Part II of his *Tobcitu-tolta* (p. 12):

"Later, when I, taiji Injannasi reached the age of thirty, our family fortune began to decline and our trusted servants plundered and stole our property in a hundred ways. Some of the family run businesses began to lose their investments and we lost some of our crops. Domestically, the misfortunes of sickness and death befell our women and children . . . until I reached the age of thirty-four. I was sickened by this turn of family fortune and almost fell ill by grieving. However, remembering my esteemed mother seventy years old, and my young son only six years old and the great estate and serfs of my ancestors, I could not forsake them and resolved to wade through these difficult times for at least another year. In trying to divert this unbearable pressure and loneliness, I thought to escape into books and literature, and by chance I came across this YYUMTKS. I decided to fulfill a long-time ambition by completing this work . . ." (TT. II, pp. 12–13).

If Injannasi did take up the *Köke sudur* in 1870, he was writing his introduction, the *Tobcitu-tolta,* in 1871. All indications from the introduction are that he had completed the work, or at least the bulk of it. One could, of course, write a preface or certain plan of his work before writing his main text, but not a lengthy introduction in which one discusses the work yet to be written. In any case there is no reason for us to object the date of the completion of the *Köke sudur* as 1871 for the 69-chapter version as we know it from the printed editions.

There seems to be little room to dispute that the TM is the later version of the *Köke sudur* by the author and that the author worked on it up to the very end of his life. In the beginning of Book XXI, on page 2 of the foreword preceding chapter LXI, the author mentions the date of 1891 (Female White Hare year, the seventeenth year of the reign of Kuang-hsü). At the beginning of chapter LXV (Book XXII), the author records his birth date and age in verses. His birth date was the sixteenth of the fourth moon and he was then fifty-five. In Mongolian fashion, this will be the year 1891. The same year 1891 was also mentioned in Book XXIII, chapter LXIX (p. 123a). A date in Chinese, after the final poem of the Book XV (end of chapter XLV, p. 151) recorded by Süngwaidanjung, gives the 23rd day of the ninth moon of the White Tiger year of Kuang-hsü, which is November 5, 1890.

CHAPTER IV

THE LITERARY POSITION OF THE *KÖKE SUDUR*

As far as the author Injannasi was concerned, the *Köke sudur* was a history of the Mongols begun by his father and continued to completion by Injannasi. Thus he states in his introduction to the *Köke sudur*:

> “One must particularly not compare this book with the embellished novels of the Han, Chin, T’ang and Sung periods. These light literature were the products of those literati who based themselves on a grain of historical fact but added hundreds of details and new turns and twists out of their own imaginations. . . . Not so with this chronicle! This chronicle includes the events of thirty to forty years preceding the one hundred sixty-two years of the Yüan dynasty, which amounts to an account of a total of two hundred years. It would be impossible even to include one-tenth of the true accounts. How could one then add or embellish it?[1]

It is interesting to note that Injannasi’s statement is quite similar to the introductory remarks of the *Lieh Kuo Chuan*, an anonymous Chinese historical novel dealing with the period of Feudal States (c. 800–300 B. C.) which reads:

> “The *Lieh Kuo* is not an ordinary novel, which consists mainly of what is not true. Thus the *Feng Shen*,[2] the *Shui Hu*, the *Hsi Yu Chi*, and others, are pure fabrications. Even the *San Kuo Chih*, which is very near to truth, contains much that is without foundation. Not so the *Lieh Kuo*. There every incident is a real incident, every speech a real speech. Besides, as there is far more to tell than could possibly be told, it is not likely that the writer would go out of his way to invent. Wherefore the reader must look upon the *Lieh Kuo* as a genuine history, and not as mere novel.”[3]

Despite Injannasi’s claimed intention and his insistence, what he produced was not a history, but a novel based on historical background. Heissig, in describing the *Köke Sudur* in his *A Lost Civilization* states:

> “. . . what he [Injannasi] did was to take the official Chinese annals of the Mongol dynasty (1260–1368) and clothed this skeleton of dry but historically accurate facts in living flesh, which derived partly from his own imagination, partly from a mass of material culled from other but primarily Mongolian historical works, collections of poems and stories.”[4]

Heissig’s description of the *Köke sudur* is essentially correct and it implies that the *Köke sudur* is more than a novel inasmuch as it contains “a mass of material culled from other but primarily Mongolian historical works. . . .”

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[1] TT. Pt. 4, pp. 33-34.

[2] *Fêng Shên Chuan* 封神傳 a tale of the twelfth century B. C.

[3] Herbert A. Giles, *A History of Chinsse Literaturs*, pp. 340–311.

[4] Heissig, *A Lost Civilization*, p. 28.

We know that the author Injannasi made use of a number of historical source materials which were available to him but since have been lost or remain yet to be discovered. Therefore, it is quite justified for us to anticipate that certain hitherto unknown historical facts might well be contained in the *Köke sudur*.

However, we find the *Köke sudur* contains more fancy than facts. In fact, many of the facts as we know them are mutated to reconcile the morality of the author. Injannasi, burning with nationalistic pride, wanted to present Cinggis and the Mongols in their best light (within the Chinese historical frame of reference) so that his compatriots and the Mongols of posterity would be proud of their heritage. When doing so, he found some historical facts disturbing to his Confucianist morality. For example, the fratricide by Cinggis and his brother Qasar of their half-brother Bekter[5] was swept under the rug as follows:

> “Then the taitsu [cinggis] and his brothers grew up further and when there developed disharmony among them, grumbling over a slight disagreement during hunting, mother Ögelün became deeply disturbed. One day [she] called in her children and made them stand together, and [she] took out five arrows from their father’s quiver and gave [them to her sons] saying: ‘The five of you each [go ahead and] break these five arrows together!’ No one was able to [break them]. Thereupon, [she] separated the arrows and gave each one of them an arrow and made them break their arrows and all broke them. Mother Ögelün lecturing her sons spoke thus: ‘Observe, my children, while the arrows are the same, when they were united they were strong and when separated they were weak. They are like the five of you brothers. Now if you are harmonious among yourselves you will be as strong as the former arrows and will not be vanquished by others, if you are separated by disharmony, you will be like the latter separated arrows and will be broken even by a single person. Did you not witness that your father was a victim because he conducted himself alone? You whom I begot should consider solacing your widowed lonely mother.’ Saying this she broke down and began to weep. Taitsu began to realize his former fault and suddenly his heart softened. He became repentent, and he led his brothers in kneeling down and consoled their mother Ögelün. Ever since [he] forgave all faults of his brothers and treated them kindly.”

As far as we know, when Cinggis and Qasar came to their mother with the complaint against their half-brothers Bekter and Belgüdei for forcefully seizing a fish caught by Cinggis, his mother made the famous statement: “You have no friend save your own shadow nor any whip but your own tail.” She begged them not to hurt their brother at a time when they had many enemies. Cinggis and Qasar left the yurt slamming the felt door at their mother, and they proceeded to do away with their half-brother Bekter, one of the vividly described episodes in the *Secret History*. "The teaching of five arrows", incidentally, is also from the *Secret History*, only it was attributed much earlier to the Lady Alun ğuu-a and the illegitimate births of Boduncar, the ancestor of the Borjigid clan, and two other sons. When Alun ğuu-a gave birth to three more sons after the death of her husband Dobun mergen, the two former sons began to ask each other whether their half brothers could be the sons of the only servant they had in the house. Alun ğuu-a sensed or overheard her sons' suspicions and found it necessary to explain this awkward situation. Thus the legend of the "divine birth" of Bonduncar was born.

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[5] Par. 76–78 of the *Secret History*. For an English rendering of this episode, see Arthur Waley, *The Secret History of the Mongols*, pp. 227–228.

> "After the death of Dobun, his wife Alan the Fair bore three sons called Bukhu-khatagi, Bukhatusalji and Bodunchar. Belgunutei and Bugunutei, the sons born while Dobun was alive, said to one another in secret, 'This mother of ours, though she has neither husband nor husband's brothers, has born three sons. The only man in the house is the servant from the Ma'alikh-baya'udai clan. Most likely they are his children.' However while they were saying this, their mother knew well enough what they were talking about.
>
> One spring day their mother Alan the Fair was cooking some mutton that had been pickled in the winter. She called her five sons to her and making them sit in a row she gave each of them an arrow-shaft and told him to break it. When they had each done so she tied five arrow-shafts into a bundle and gave it to each in turn, telling them to break the bundle. None of them was able to do so. She then said, 'You two boys, Belgunutei and Bugunutei, are puzzled about who is the father of these other three sons of mine, I do not wonder at it. You do not know that every night a pale-yellow man came in through the vent-hole of the roof or through the gap above the door and stroked my belly. When his light had gone deep into my belly he would slink away, following the rays of the sun or moon and looking like a yellow dog. Do not speak hastily. To one that knows of this it is clear that these three are children of Heaven and not at all to be compared to ordinary people. Only long hence when they become Emperors will they be seen for what they are.
>
> Alan the Fair then taught them a lesson, saying 'You five sons were all born from my one womb. You are like those five arrow-shafts just now, which taken one by one were so easy to break. If you brothers remain of one mind you will be like the arrow-shafts when they were tied together; no one will be able to break you!'"[6]

At this point it may prove expedient to examine how this legend develops in the later chronicles. We find that the *Altan tobci* by Lubsandanjin (Blo bzan bstan 'jin) (1655)[7] transmits this legend almost verbatim from the *Secret History*. However, the *Altan tobci anonymus*[8] gives a slightly different account. I quote here only the relevant passage:

> ". . . Then she gave them five sticks each. They could not break them. Alung Ğooa said: 'Your five-fold strength is like this. When in the dark night a yellow shining boy entered in, brightness penetrated into my tent. When he went after rubbing my belly, he became a black (*sic*) [yellow] 'qaljin'[9] dog, and went out, licking his tongue and lips, by the right-hand door. If you judge by this, I think they are boys with a destiny from Heaven.' . . ."

Although the details may differ slightly the legend is still basically intact. The *Sira tuğuji*,[10] by an unknown author, written during the seventeenth century gives a brief abridged account of the birth of Bodancar as follows:

> "After the death of Dobu mergen, while the lady Alang ğuu-a lived without a husband, during the night a light entered her yurt and a yellow-whitish man entered her yurt through the venthole and united with [Alun ğuu-a]. The son thus born was the Bodungcar of the son of Heaven. Bodungcar's descendants became the Borjigens."[11]

The names of the other sons of Alun ğun-a, the suspicions of her sons regarding their half brothers and the episode of "arrow breaking" have been omitted, as well as the zoomorphism of the legend.

Sağang Secen, a descendant of the Great Khan, who mentions the *Sira tuğuji* as one of his sources among others, also saw the zoomorphic element of this legend unfit and gives the following account in his *Erdeni-yin tobci* (1662):[12]

> "After this [the death of Dobun mergen], Queen Alun Ğuua, in a dream (dreamed) there was every night a handsome, beauteous youthful man who came and spent the night, sharing her pillow, and on the morrow, with the light of dawning, went away. That she had so dreamed she used to go and relate to the elder brothers' wives, and, because she thus behaved by herself, gave birth to three sons, *Buğu Qatagi*, *Buğu Saljiğu* and *Bodancar Mungqağ* by name. Then, after the boys had been reared some evil-minded people spoke calumnies: 'Is it the custom for a woman who is by herself to give birth? A person named *Maqali* of the *Bayagud* used to come to your house. They are surely his,' they said to one another; Belgütei and Begügtei acted

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[6] I quote here from the English rendering of the paragraphs 17–22 of *The Secret History of the Mongols* by Arthur Waley in *The Secret History of the Mongols*, pp. 218–219.

[7] See Altan Tobci, *A Brief History of the Mongols by bLo bzan bsTan'jin*, Scripta Mongolica I, Harvard-Yenching Institute (1952), pp. 10–12.

[8] See C. R. Bawden, *The Mongol Chronicle Altan Tobci*, Wiesbaden, 1955, pp. 38–39 (text), p. 115 (translation).

[9] *Ibid.*, I quote here the translation of Bawden. Bawden's fn. n. 3 for 'qaljin' states: "This is Mo. *qaljan*, 'having a large oblong white patch on the forehead' (DO p. 327) . . ."

[10] *Erten-ü monğğol-un qad-un ündüsün-ü yeke sir-a tuğuji* (The Great Yellow History of the Origin of the Early Mongol Khans). See N. P. Shastina, *Shara Tudji*, Mongol'skaya letopis' XVII veka, Moscow, 1957, p. 22. For a discussion of this work see also Heissig: *Die Familien- und* . . . I, p. 79.

[11] translation mine.

[12] I. J. Schmidt, *Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen und Ihres Fürstenhauses*, verfaßt von Ssanang Ssetsen Chungtaischi, etc. etc., St. Petersburg, 1829.

suspicious of their mother; their mother Alun guua gave to each one of her five boys a single shaft, and when she said 'Break it,' they broke them and cast them aside. Then taking five shafts together, and when she asked, 'Now break this,' the five of them in turn were unable to break it. Then their mother thus spoke: 'You, my two grown boys, have suspected me by the words of others,' and told them fully the circumstances of those former dreams of hers. She said:
'Therefore, these three younger brothers of yours
Are like unto Sons of Heaven.
Now you five, if you act, however, in strife,
Like those shafts, one by one, before,
You will be singly consumed by men.
If you act together
Like those later combined shafts,
You will not be surpassed by the many.' . . ."[13]

By the eighteenth century, Mongolian historical writings became hopelessly entangled with Tibetan Buddhistic mythology and many of the Mongolian traditions were now transformed or altered to fit Tibetan Buddhist concepts.

The *Altan kürdün mingğan gegesütü bicig* (The Book of the Golden Wheel with A Thousand Spokes) by Siregetü Guosi Dharma (1739)[14] which was one of Injannasi's major sources, gives the following account:

> "After the death of Dobu mergen, his wife, Alung guu-a, the daughter of Qoriltai mergen of the Tümed, while a widow, a light entered her yurt during the night, and changed into a yellow [colored] whitish [complexioned] handsome man (some say it was the qormusta [Lord-on-High]) and came to caress the lady, which caused the birth of the youngest son Bodancar the holy, a son born of heaven. The Heaven in its immense body while not seen by many people in apparition yet caused the widow to bear a son in person. For this he was called Bodancar . . ."[15]

We shall examine one more historical work which precedes *Köke sudur*, namely: *Bolur Erike* (Crystal Rosary),[16] 1774/75, by Rasipungsug, again a *taiji*, a descendant of the Great Khan:

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[13] I quote here the translation by John R. Krueger in: Sağang Sechen, *History of the Eastern Mongols to 1662 (Erdeni-yin Tobci)* Newly Translated from the Mongolian (Part One: Chapter One through Five), edited by John R. Krueger, Mongolia Society Occasional Papers No. 2, Bloomington, 1967, p. 42.

[14] See *Altan Kürdün mingğan gegesütü bicig, Eine Mongolische Chronik von* Siregetu Guosi Dharma (1739) Herausgegeben mit Einleitung und Namensverzeichnis von Walther Heissig, Kopenhagen, 1958.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 12 (I, 11 v/12r). Translation mine.

[16] For *Bolur Erike* see Heissig, *Bolur Erike* and *Die Familien* . . . . The text quoted here is from *Rasipunsuğ-un jokiyağsan mongğol ulus-un teüke*, Kalgan, 1941 Vol. I, pp. 10–11. English translation mine.

> ". . . As I, Rasipungsuğ see it, in our Mongolian sources, Dobu mergen was put at the twelfth or eleventh generation from Börte-cinu-a Qagan . . ., but I have followed the *dayanka* [reference work] *Merged ğarqu-yin orun* (Repository of Wisdom) edited by his Holiness Lacang sakiya lalida badzar [lCan-skya lalita vajra] which says: 'Since Börte-cinu-a became known in the land of the Great Mongolia as the Son-of-Heaven, the ninth generation was Dobu mergen.' . . . The same *dayanka* says: 'After the death of Dobu mergen, his wife Alun ğuu-a, while a widow, received unto her body a light like that of rainbow from the sky. She experienced an elation and became pregnant and the son thus born was named Bodancir. Also in our Mongolian books, it is said that Dobu mergen married Alun ğuu-a, the daughter of Qoraltai mergen and had the elder son Buğu Qatagi and second son Buğu salji. After the death of Dobu mergen, the lady Alun ğuu-a made a living with her two sons. One night, into Alun ğuu-a's dream, there entered a white light into her yurt and at once changed into a *golden colored god* [italics mine] and approached the bed [of the lady]. Alun ğuu-a woke up frightened. Then she became pregnant and gave birth to a son worthy of the sign. Because [Alun ğuu-a] saw a god in person [the son] was named Bodancir. The others [sources] such as the Manchu translation from the Chinese *Tzŭ chih t'ung chien kang mu hsü pien* and the *Comprehensive Mirror* state likewise that 'The founder of Yüan's surname was Kiyud, his name was Temüjin. His ancestors ruled the Mongol nation from the beginning. Formerly, when a widow by the name Alun ğuu-a lived in the land of Pa mu with her elder son Buğu Qatagi and her second son Buğu Salji, every night after they went to bed, Alun ğuu-a's body became wrapped with light and rainbow which caused her to be pregnant, and the fifth son Bondancir was born.'"

Rasipungsuğ goes on to defend the credibility of this legend by quoting historical legends from Indian and Chinese traditions of divine births of kings and concludes his account of the same legend as follows:

> "Bodancir was more upright and just in character than others. He was honest and gentle and spoke little. Because of this, his elder brothers looked down upon him as being a fool and used him like a servant. [Seeing this] one day their mother killed a sheep and feasted them and gave each of them an arrow-shaft and ordered them to break it. They all did [accordingly]. Again the arrows were given in twos, threes and fours and they all broke them, but when a bundle of five arrows was given each of them to break it, they were unable to do it. Their mother spoke: 'Like this example, if you conduct yourselves in harmony you will not be defeated by anyone. It is right for you to be suspicious of this Bodancir. But then he is not a son of a human being, and he is positively a decendant of The Heavenly King. His beloved descendants will be noble and higher than all.'"

Here as we see it the yellow-whitish man became a *golden-colored god* and the zoomorphic element has been eradicated completely. Many of the later writers presented this legend more or less in the same vein.

Injannasi, however, is the first person to give a completely new twist to this legend by simply adapting its parts to different episodes of his *Köke sudur*. Alun ğuu-a is not mentioned at all. To a Confucian scholar the legend is simply a coverup of bastardy. Yet the "arrow breaking" was a beautiful legend and attractive for Injannasi to preserve in his writing. Therefore he did not hesitate to attribute this legend to the Lady Ögelün and Cinggis' brothers. Fratricide, another stigma of Cinggis to the author, was swept under the rug also.

It can be said that any historical fact which did not meet the author's moral view points was arbitrarily censored or altered according to the wish of the author. The forceful seizure of married Ögelün (Cinggis' mother) by Cinggis' father Yisügei, captivity of Börtegeljin (Cinggis' wife) by the Taicud (questionable birth of Cinggis' first son Joci), etc. were simply suppressed in the *Köke sudur*.

Compounding the dislocation of accepted tradition are the many fantasies of magic and miracles which make the *Köke sudur* an inextricable patchwork of fact and fancy. Injannasi himself was quite defensive on the subject of "supernatural" bouts in his *Köke sudur* and took pains to defend himself on more than one occasion.[17] Injannasi gives us three reasons why he recorded such matters incredulous to him. He said that, first, he is simply transmitting things to us as they were written in his sources and that it was not his place to ignore them completely. Second, magic and miraculous occurrences were not exclusive to the Mongol period of history, and they occurred from ancient times and during other dynasties; and such miracles were recorded as historical acts. Third, he said miracles were not confined to the rise of an empire but also occurred when the fortune of an empire ended. Finally, he says "even the *Kang-mu*, which records only one-tenth of the true happenings of this world, has chosen to record on its pages the marvellous happenings of the miracles . . .". The fact of the matter is, the author himself not only elaborated such myths and miracles from his sources, but proceeded to create a number of new miracles.

In a sense practically all Mongolian historical writings up to the modern time are poor history, in that myths and legends, fact and fancy are all thrown together. Yet, all of these writings contribute new information to Mongolian history. We know many historical writings made use of by some Mongolian historians are forever lost or yet to be discovered. It is these "unknown sources" – information new to historical science – preserved at least in part in these chronicles which are valuable to science.

The Artistry of the Köke sudur

What really makes the *Köke sudur* a monument to Mongolian literature is its artistry. Its vivid description of characters, its wit and humour; its richness in artistic expression, folklore and legend, ethnographic material make the *Köke sudur* an anthology of Mongolian literary expressions of the nineteenth century.

We have mentioned elsewhere the fact that Injannasi's *Köke sudur* was greatly influenced by Chinese literature. At first glance, the *Köke sudur* may even appear to be an imitation of some Chinese work, in that its frame work is modeled on Chinese historical writings and novels. But a closer examination will reveal that the author wrote the *Köke sudur* in the best of Mongolian epic-folkloristic tradition: of poetry, songs, proverbs, common sayings and witticisms.

Poetry

I have already stated that there are more than two thousand lines of poems in the *Köke sudur*. Actually there are more poetic passages in his prose which are in the best tradition of Mongolian epic style. One describes Polğudai, a Kereit officer, who unwittingly served his master as an envoy to Cinggis to propose a marriage alliance. It was in fact a plot to capture Cinggis, but Polğudai ignorant of the plot was eager to serve on this mission. The description of this episode best illustrates the epic style traditionally Mongolian:

Polğudai kemegci masi nigen teneg bidegülig er-e tula, nigemüsün üküted-e itegejü yekel-e bayarlan,

Mangnai dağan jalbarin,
Mağsin büjiglejü öcirün:
Magnuğ metü erdemtü,
Manu güng ejen minu,
Mağad ene bodulğ-a,
Masi onuğsan bolai.
Marğul ügei jidküjü,
Macun mağajiju bütügey-e kemejü,
Madağcin bayarlasağar ğarcu;
Marğata örlüge anu,
Mangnai qaljin mori-dur,
Malağ-a debeltei mordaju,
Malu Butung kemekü,
Masi nökür selten-lüge
Mangq-a elesün-ü jam dur
Marğul-ügei yabuğsağar, nigen edür Bête ulus-un jaq-a-dur oruju, cagdağul-un bağudal-dur kürcü, qarağul-un kümün-dür jolğaju, qamtu Burqan Ğaldun-a ireged; T'aitsu-yin kereg medegülkü jağuci-yin örgügen-e irejü, jolğan jalaqu ucir-iyan medegülügsen-dür. Tere jisiyan-u jağuci-dur yabuqu anu, Uyutu Secen tula, Polğudai-aca ucir tuqai-yi naribcilan asağuju;

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[17] See TT. Pt. 4, pp. 40–44.

Aliba beleg-ün terigün,
Ariğun cağan kkib-i abcu,
Alağur oruju medegülküy-e,
Auğ-a kücütü T'aitsu-yin
Amtatu joğuğ-un sirege,
Arai bağuqui-dur tokiyalduju,
Ağajim-iyar oruju,
Aliba siltağan-i medegülügsen-dür,
Asaral örüsiyeltü T'aitsu,
Alus kiju baysuğad,
Alqun ğarcu ireged,
Albatu ulus-tur jolğaju,
Ağudam örüge-dür oruju
Arslan bars-un olbugtu
Arci zandan-u sirege-dür
Amuğulang töblejü sağuğad
Alus-aca iregsen
Amur erigci Polğudai-yi
Abun irejü jolğağul! kemegsen-e
Aru ebür-tür jiğsağsan
Arban naiman ğocuğ-ud
Ağula anirlaqu metü-ber
Aqu bügüdeger toğuriju
Arğasun-un Qorğulji güyüjü
Ami temecetel-e ğarcu
Ailan yabuju sekügülügsen
Arğadar-a iregsen Polğudai-yi
Abun oruju ireged
Arslangtu örgüge-yin
Arasun-u debisger-tür sögüdkemegce
Aimağlan jiğsağaju joğsuğsan
Amban tüsimel bügüdeger
Aba qomurğan-u yosuğar
Ang dürgitel-e qasgiruğsan-dur
Asqan jangtu Polğudai
Ayun sociju sirbegedüged
Ağasi ban aldan sögüdcü
Alağaban qamtudqan jalbariju
Ama ban angğain angğaiğsağar
Aliba üge ben
Alusdan nigente umartagad
Arğ-a ban jabqan sögüdügsen-dür
Arğasun-u Qorğulji tüsimel
Angqarun qaraju ağsağar

Alus-aca iregsen
Ayumtağai Polğudai-yin tölüge-dür
Ayun debsijü odugad
Aru-yi inu tülkijü
Ayarqan-iyar ögülerün:
"Aqai Polğudai ci yağakiba?
Ailadqal-iyan ailadq-a!
Abai minu kerkibe?" kemebe
Ay-a ene kereg-ün
Ali tesi bolqu-yi
(A)gšan-a medey-e kemebesü
Aljigu sudurci minu
Aliyarqan nağadcu bicigsen
Ayumatağai silüg-ün üges-i
Ağajim-iyar üjejü
Angqarun qaraju iniyeged
Alağur ağudam-iyar
Arğaci Kereid-ün kereg-i
Ajağaran sinjiju ungsibasu
Amta simte ileremüi.
Buyan yeketü-yin dürim dürsü,
Busud-i sürtegekü-yin sür
Bodulğ-a gün-e-yin yosulal kögjim
Bošuğ-i jarlaqu-yin jar.
Boğda kümün-u törülki jibqulang
Boltu kümün-e tögemel.
Boğul albatu-yin ayun pelerekü
Buruğu ügei bolai.
Tendece: Ayun peleregsen Polğudai
Amisquğ-a yadaju medegülürün:
. . . .

Because Polğudai was such a fool and simpleton, he honestly swallowed the whole story and became jubilant and

Up went (his joined palms) to his forehead,
Dancing merrily, he replied thus:
'My lord our gracious duke,
Whose wisdom is boundless
Indeed this idea of yours is
Truly very appropriate.
Without hesitation shall I strive;
My best efforts I shall apply.'
He retired elated with joy.
On the morn of the next day
On the back of his blaze-marked horse

He mounted with [formal] hat and coat,
His closest comrade at his side
Malu Butung by name.
Without hesitation they rode on
the road over the desert and dunes.

One day they entered the border of the Bête Nation and arrived at a frontier post. [They] met the frontier guards and together they arrived at Burqan Galdun-a. They went to the yurt of the officer who is in charge of reporting matters to T'aitsu and stated their mission of the invitation to the Khan. The officer of the day was Uyutu Secen, who asked in detail about Polğudai's mission.

[He] took the most honored gift of all
The pure white ceremonial scarf,
Unhurriedly he went in to report.
It was just the right time when
The T'aitsu the August Mighty Lord's
Delicious dinner table was being brought out.
Solemnly he [Uyutu Secen] went in and
Reported the matter [to his lord].
Merciful and compassionate T'aitsu
was surprised in delight.
He deigned to emerge,
Received his officials,
Entered his spacious palace.
On his sandal-wood throne,
On the lion and tiger cushion
He sat at ease in the center
And he commanded thus:
"Bring to me for audience
Polğudai who inquires my health,
He who came from afar!"
Those who stood in the front and back,
The eighteen adjutants,
Resounded like the mountain echo,
All who were present reiterated the command.
Arğasun-u Qorğulji went running
As though fighting for his life,
He went and brought in
the exhausted traveller
Polğudai, the dupe
In front of the lion palace
Had him kneel on the leather carpet.
Those rows of attendants

Ministers and officers all,
As though in a battue hunt
Gave a shout that flushed the game.
Polğudai, of upright character,
Awed with fear and fright,
Kneeling down dumbfounded,
Joined his palms in prayer.
His mouth gaped open and vainly he tried.
Alas his message all but forgotten,
He knelt at his wit's end.
Arğasun-u Qorğulji, the officer,
Closely observing this situation, and
Apprehensive for
the one who arrived from afar,
Timid Polğudai,
He went forward, and
He nudged his back.
And spoke in a low voice:
"Brother Polğudai, what is the matter?
Speak out what you came to say,
For heaven's sake, what happened?"

Alas if one wants to know right away
Which way this affair will turn,
First calmly read
the verses regarding fear
written by me, the lazy chronicler,
in a playful mood.
Take your time and examine them
Pay attention with a smile.
And if you read slowly
Of Kereit trickery
You may find delight in it.

The author continues his poem indented and with the alliteration of "bu/bo".

The countenance and majesty of the great one
are the stateliness which awes others.
A deeply meaningful rite and pageant is
The command which carries out the mandate.
The nascent majesty of an August being
Commandeers all men
The fright and panic of bondsmen and serfs,
Is really not their fault.
Now then:
Frightened and confused Polğudai

Gasping for breath he states:

. . . .

. . . .

The author continues this episode with 63 more lines, alliterating on *a*, making a total of 127 lines of alliterated passages alliterating on *a*. The traditional Mongolian poetry is based on the principles of alliteration and parallelism. Namjiltseween discerned some thirteen poetic forms in the *Köke sudur* which are based on the above-mentioned two principles.[18] Injannasi, like many other writers of his time also experimented with adapting Chinese poetic forms to Mongolian. Formally, Chinese rhyme consists of devices based on the inherent tone (musical) of each word (i. e. Chinese character). In spite of the fact that rhyme-schemes of the Chinese type hardly lend themselves to such a language as Mongolian (which is polysyllabic and toneless, among other things), Injannasi did adopt some devices of Chinese poetry in his own Mongolian poetry, e. g., the number of words per line (which parallels the "number of characters per line" of Chinese poetry). For example:

Saran-u dour-a saiqan noir egeküi-e,
Saiqan kümün saiqan kümün-i mörügedümüi.
Sanağsan edür on udağsan-u tula
Sağar ugei nair jirum köndü

. . . . .

. . . . .

. . . . .

. . . . .

Moonlight chases away restful sleep,
The beautiful one yearns for the beautiful one.
As the longing stretches into years
The helpless love grows deeper and deeper.

. . .

The example given here is modeled on the Chinese "five word poem", but with alliteration instead of end rhyme. The lead poems which serve to tell the contents of each chapter in *Köke sudur* are all modeled on Chinese poetic forms. Because of the radical difference of Mongolian and Chinese, the Chinese influence on Mongolian poetry as we see it in the *Köke sudur* is not so much formalistic as it is thematic. The *Köke sudur* is truly an anthology of Mongolian poetic forms which should be studied independently.

The *Köke sudur* is rich in the literary genres peculiar to Mongolian such as *irügel* (blessing), *mağtağal* (eulogy), *surğal* (teaching) and other folkloristic expressions.

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[18] Namjiltseween, "Teüken roman 'Yeke yuwan ulus-un manduğsan törü-yin köke sudur-un' ündüsüten-ü kelberi". p. 22.

Irügel and *Mağtağal*

For an illustration of *irügel* and *mağtağal* I shall choose the description of the marriage of Cinggis and Börtegeljin by the author which also presents us with highly interesting ethnographic information.

Now Cinggis has reached the age of seventeen. His mother decides to have Chinggis married to Börtegeljin, the daughter of Dai Secen, betrothed when Cinggis' father was alive. She sends Menggelig and Chilağun for this mission with gifts to Dai Secen, consisting of the following: A white camel with silver nose peg and sable tassel with [eight] horses with jade and jewelled saddle and bridle, which consisted of a unit of nine; two nines of unsaddled horses; three nines of cows and sheep; victual and spirits in units of three nines, a total of nine units of nine. Dai Secen was very happy to comply with the request and an auspicious day was chosen. Now the auspicious day arrives and Cinggis and his retainers arrive at the home of Dai Secen. When they arrive at the gate of Dai Secen, Buğural, a retainer of the bride's family asks the following question of the groom's party: (KQ. pp. 142–145).

"Edür naran erte bügetel-e
Egüde daruju bağuğsan tan-u yağun?
Qamuğ bügüde eyetei bügetel-e
Qağalğ-a daruju bağuğsan tan-u yağun?"

Why are you camping blocking our door
When the day is early and sun high?
Why are you camping and blocking our gate
While everyone is at peace with one another?

Now Menggelig spoke from the groom's side:

Erkin tan-du nigen abqai bui kemelüge.
Erte edür manu ejen-dür ögsügei kemen toğtaluğa.
Qadam uruğ-un qas metü abqai-yi cinu
Qan kübegün ejen minu,
Qatun-iyan boğtular-a irebe.
Qacir ödütü sumun-iyan üjegdeküi!

It is said that you have a princess, my lord,
And she was betrothed to our lord, they say.
Now our lord the son of the Khan has come to fetch
Your jade-like princess from his in-law's
To make her his queen in marriage;
Behold the eagle-feathered arrow of yours!

This exchange of formalized banter is an ancient Mongolian custom which has survived into modern times, and is referred to in Mongolian as "*egüde daruqu*" (door-blocking). In fact, the door of the bride's family is ceremoniously bolted and not opened until this exchange of *qolbo* (alliterated saying) is completed. The arrow mentioned in this particular instance was a parting gift given to the son-in-laur-to-be Cinggis by Dei Secen, which also served as an instrument binding the engagement.

The arrow then was inspected by Dai Secen, and now he speaks:

"*Ğoul metü keüken-i abqu tula,*
Ğolumta-yi minu takiqu keregtei!
Ğar metü ökin-i minu abqu tula,
Ğal-i minu takiqu keregtei."
In order to marry my daughter who is like my heart
You must first pray to our god of hearth.
In order to marry my daughter who is like my hands
You must first worship our fire god.

The ceremony was accordingly carried out with great fanfare with musicians and music. A thirty-two *qan-a* (section of lattice framework of the yurt) yurt was given by the bride's father to the newly-weds as dowry together with eighty-one families. Another brocade yurt with twelve *qan-a* was erected to accommodate Cinggis and his bride for the first night. Dai Secen wanted to test the wit and eloquence of Cinggis' followers and asked the Cinggis' side to perform the traditional ceremony of blessing the yurt and anointing of the threshold. Now Menggelig volunteers and after anointing the yurt with butter and making a libation he recited in a resounding voice the following:

"*Esegei ber bürkügsen ger cinu*
Erdemtü degedü ordun boltugai!
Erdemtü ordun-dur sağusan ejen minu
Erke kücün nemegdejü ein jirğan atuğai:
Bošuğtu gerün egüden-ece
Buyantu bulağ dabulun ğartuğai
Borjigid ijağurtu tngrilig enjen minu
Bultu bükün-i ejelen sağuqu boltuğai!
Mangnuğ-iyar bürkügsen örgüge cinu
Masi degedü orun boltuğai!
Manjilğatu kösige-dü sağuğsan manu ejen
Mağad-iyar delekei dakin-i ejeltügei!
Taji ber dotulağsan örgüge cinu
Tangsuğ saiqan qarsi boltuğai!
Tabtai-a dotur-a sağuğci biden-ü ejen
Tasurqai yeke qağan sağurin-dur sağutuğai!
Toğunu-dur ağsan gerün sakiğulsun-dur
Tunumal rasiyan-u saculi ergümü,
Dotur-a orusiğsan erketü ejen-i minu

todqar-ügegüy-e jirğalangtu bolğan suyurq-a!
Qoimur ağsan sirege sağudal-un ejed-tü
Qotal-a bürin rasiyan-u saculi ergümü
Qous saiqan dörben költü sandali ban
Qola urtuda batu bolğan jokiy-a!

This yurt of yours which is covered by felt
May it become a palace of virtue and sublimity!
My lord who resides in this virtuous palace,
May your power and might increase and be happy as follows:
From the door of your mandated yurt
May the spring of fortune gush forth;
My lord, the heaven-sent issue of Borjigin,
May you reign over all men!
This yurt of yours which is covered by brocade
May it become the loftiest shrine!
My lord who sits within the decorated curtain
May you veritably reign over the world!
The palace of yours with silken interior
May it become a luxurious palace
Our lord who dwells in comfort within,
May you definitely ascend the Khan's throne!
To the guardian spirit who resides on the vent-hole
I shall offer this clear sacred water.
May the lord who dwells within be protected
And live without evil in happiness.
To the guardians of the seat and table at the back
We offer one and all this libation of sacred water.
Pray strengthen forever long
The pairs of four-legged thrones!

After the marriage ceremony the newly-weds were put behind a dragon designed curtain. When morning arrived, there were the so-called *kösig tailqu qurim* (Curtain untying ceremony). The curtain has nine ties, and the tying and untying of these ties require well-wishing. Now Buğural, representing the Dai Secen family, emerges from those attending the ceremony and speaks the following with a resounding melodious tone:

Mangnuğ luu-yin kimurlig kösige-ben tatağad,
Manjilğ-a büce nügüd-i saitur janggidbai.
Masi sain edür cağ-tur tailuğsan-iyar,

Mağad saiqan jirğalang
Man-u qoyar uruğ-tu boltuğai!

We draw the auspicious curtain of brocade dragon,
And we tie well its pendents and ribbons.
By untying them at an auspicious time and hour
Our two related families shall enjoy
Veritable joy and happiness.

Thus said, he tied up all the ties of the curtain. Now when Menggelig advanced to untie the ties, Buğural held Menggelig back and said: "Hold on a second, say your well-wishing before you untie them!" Menggelig then spoke the following:

Araja, qouraja, uğurağ-iyar miliyağsan-dur
Aldar ner-e inu
Arban jüg-tür dağuristuğai!
Aci ür-e inu saitur delgerejü,
Albatu qaracus mandur egüride qamğalal boltuğai!

By the anointment of Araja[19] qouraja[20] and beestings,
Let his (Cinggis') name be
Reknowned in ten directions!
Let his descendents prosper and flourish and
May his protection be extended over us subjects
forever!

Having said thus, he proceeded to untie the nine ties, one by one, with the following blessing:

Oğtarğui dügüreng sakiğulsun sakituğai!
Olan bükün-e ner aldarsituğai!
Uruğ sadun-dur qalamjitai boltuğai!
Ulus irgen dalai-yi dabatuğai!
Qad yekes-tur qamtu jergecetügei!
Qaracus irgen-dür ergügden kündülegdetügei!
Qari qola-dur gegsen küsegdetügei!
Qamuğ bügüde-dür qağan sağutuğai!
Yisün küsel ein kü güicetügei!

Let the sky full of gods protect him!
May your name resound to all!
May you be warm toward your kin!
May your domains and subjects stretch beyond the
seas!

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[19] Strong brandy distilled from fermented milk.

[20] When "araja" is distilled again, it produces a stronger brandy which is referred to as "qouraja".

May you be equal with Emperors and kings!
May you be the object of respect by citizens
and lowly!
May you be longed for by foreign and distant
people!
May you reign over all!
May these nine wishes thus be completed!

Now Buğural began to *retie* the ties from the bottom upward, saying one sentence and tying one ribbon:

Qaracus irgen-iyen ilbin tejige!
Qariyatu jarudasu-ban kögjigen kümüjigül!
Qamuğ boğulcud-iyan adali-bar asaran,
Keregtü albatu-ban kiciyen tejige!
Kebcigürtü tüsimed-iyen kemjiyelen keregle!
Kelkiyetü said-un üge-yi ab!
Törügsen üres-iyen sain-iyar surğaltai,
Töbegdegsen qatun-dağan üljeitü bolultai
Tömelebecü eke degen aci-yi qariğultai'.

Care for your common subjects with kindness,
Educate and make prosperous your servants,
Treat all your bondsmen with equality,
With diligence care for your useful subjects!
Curtail the power of your intemperate ministers!
Accept the words of your upright advisers!
Your own children should be well educated.
Your destined wife should be honored.
Most important of all be filial to your mother.!

Menggelig was not perturbed. He began to untie the ribbons, this time from the bottom, with the following well-wishing:

Sudadani-yin kübegün metü bükün-e ergügdetügei!
Sudarasun-u ejen metü olan-i ejiletügei!
Soruncin gürü metü erke batudatuğai!
Sümbür ağula metü jibqulang coğcilatuğai!
Sün dalai metü kesig arbidatuğai!
Sümen ebesün metü ecin-e angkilatuğai!
Naran saran metü gerel dügürgetügei
Nabci cecig metü üres delgeretügei
Narasu mailasun metü nasun urtatuğai!

"May you be adored like the Son of Suddhodana!
May you reign like the Lord of Sudarasun!
May you be as powerful as the giant loadstone!
May you be as majestic as Mt. Sümerü!

May your fortune be as boundless as the Milk Ocean!
May you cast aroma like the herb jasmine!
May you illuminate like the sun and moon!
May your descendants flourish like leaves and
flowers!
May you live long like the pine and cypress!

If someone had not put an end to this well-wishing match, Buğural would have tied up the ribbons again. The *Köke sudur* is rich in this type of well-wishing, which is typically Mongolian and referred as *irügel.* I shall omit illustrations of the *mağtağal* and the *surğal,* since they are identical in form.

Characterization

The *Köke sudur* is a glorified account of Cinggis and his cohorts. It represents the idealistic views of the author of Mongolian history. In it Cinggis is depicted as a benevolent patriarch who conquered and pacified the world under the "mandate of heaven." Cinggis and his family and his cohorts were all perfect in virtue, superhuman in their might and wisdom. Those who followed Cinggis were all wise and successful and those who opposed him were all foolish and ruinous.

Besides the historical characters in the *Köke sudur*, the author also created a number of fictional characters of young handsome heroes and beautiful heroines and their romances. There are the romance between Solunggu-a, the daughter of the Kereit Khan Toğuril and the young prince Altanšag-a, the son of the Naiman Khan Tayang; of Qongğurjula, a maiden of Naiman who disguised herself as a young man to become a soldier in her old father's stead. Such a filial act was duly rewarded when the great general Moquli found out the truth.

Moquli, the famed Mongolian general, was to the author like Chu-ko Liang, the great commander in the *Romance of the Three Kingdoms.* Much of Injannasi's descriptions, especially of his wars and battles, was inspired by this famed Chinese novel.

Cinggis and his great generals were no doubt among the best generals ever produced in history, but their images somehow became more and more blurred and unreal among the Mongols of the author's time. Injannasi was successful in creating vivid images of these historical figures. The images thus created by the author were much more realistic than the heroes which appeared in the traditional epic tales or the Lama Buddhistic deification.

This is how Dai Secen, Cinggis' father-in-law-to-be, saw him when the young Temüjin was presented to him for the first time:

Tergel saran metü qas cağan cirai-tai,
Tegüs gegegen luu-yin nidün urğuğad,
Teng ğarudi-yin qoyar kömüske örgen
Qabar anu qairqan ağula metü öndür,

uruğul anu ugyu-yin boldağ adali jujağan.
Niğur dörbeljin, niruğu urtu.
Ciki yeke, cegeji öndür.
Ile anu arban alqum-un ğadan-a sür gerel badarağad,
Ecin-e inu nigen törü-yin ejen qağan sağuqu-yin
buyan bui."[21]

[He] has *a* jade-white face like the full moon,
With dragon-eyes big and bright.
Broad are his two garuda-eyebrows.
His nose is like that of Sacred Mountain and
His lips are thick like that of Turquoise hillock.
His face square, and his torso tall,
His ears big and his chest broad.
Apparent is his splendor ten paces away.
Intrinsically he possesses the fortune to ascend
the throne of a dynasty.

The same Dai Secen, at the wedding feast of Cinggis, makes careful observation of those who attended the great event, where many important figures had assembled:[22]

Of the Kereit Khan Toğuril (Wang Khan):

"*Cirai sir-a, saqal singgen,*
nidu ğurbaljin, cecegei sirangğui,
Kümün inu töb ügei."

His face was yellow, and his beard thin;
His eyes are triangular and his eyeballs sallow.
His personality is not upright.

Of Ilağu, the son of Toğuril:

"*Juram-a-yin tolugai, jirükebci-yin nidü,*
Ünege-yin šongsilğ-a, cinu-a-yin qaraltai."

He has a rat-head, ground-squirrel eyes,
Foxlike beak and the stare of a wolf.

Of Jamuq-a, the arch-enemy of Cinggis:

"*Niruğu oqur, köl urtu,*
Cirai sirabtur, sidü doğsuğ
Moğai-yin nidü
Qulungsu-yin qarlğ-a-tai."

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[21] KQ. Vol. 1, p. 113.
[22] KQ. Vol. 1, p. 157.

He has a short trunk, his legs are long,
His face yellowish and his teeth protrude
He has a pair of snake-eyes,
He has a gaze of a weasel.

The following are the author's portrayal of some of the women characters in the *Köke sudur*.

Börtegeljin (Cinggis' senior wife):

"Örlüge-yin tuyağ-a metü tungğalağ geibeng jisü dür ülidkesi ügei. Ğarudi ğalbingg-a-yin nidütei[23] *(jirmeger narin nidü-yi kelegsen busu, dour-a ece degegsi cabciju, geb gegegen-i kelegsen inu bolai). Egüle ariluğsan oğtarğui-yin kömüske, urtu qas-iyar jülgügsen cike saiqan qabar, sirü-ber sigidkegsen ulağan tobci-yin urugul. Nidü dügüreng gal, qacir dügüreng gerel. Belkegüsün narin, bey-e kingqalqan. Abun üjebesü yisün tngri-yin qubilğan ökin metu, ağajim sinjibesü ğurban ordun-u*[24] *ulus-un eke bolqu qubi jayağ-a aqu . . ."*[25]

Bright as the morning ray, her radiant countenance is beyound comparison. She has a pair of eyes like that of a phoenix ([I] do not mean half-closed narrow eyes, but eyes which open and close from the bottom, and very bright). Her eyebrows are like that of cloudless sky, long [and clear]. Her nose is like polished jade, straight and beautiful. Her lips are like an inlaid red button made of red coral. Full of fire in her eyes and full of radiance on her cheeks. Her waist slender, her figure graceful. If one looks at her she is like the goddess of the nine heavens. If you observe carefully, she possesses the fortune to be the mother of a nation who rules the three palaces.

Solungğu-a, the daughter of the Kereit Khan Toğuril, met her lover-to-be Altanšag-a, the son of Tayang Khan of the Naimans, for first time on a battle field as adversaries. This is how they appeared to each other:

> "Because it was still the middle of spring, the weather was still cold. The girl wore a dyed black sable hat decorated with pearls pulled down tight. On top of her hat she wore a plume of peacock feather with three eyes.[26] [From the back of the hat] streamed two long tassels with silk bands and floated in the back. She had a gold-ring armor over which she wore an embroidered brocade silk coat. She wore a red leopard skin apron and a silk ball floated from her sash band between her knees. Her face was like that of a newly bloomed lotus flower; and her body was like the willow which bends in the spring breeze. Her eyes filled with affectionate light. Her vermilion lips held jade bones [within]. In her hand she held a long stemmed lance with a moon tip. On her feet she wore a pair of battle boots decorated with coral . . ."

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[23] Sinicism. Male and female phoenix, a mystic bird which symbolizes royalty and especially of the queen.

[24] Sinicism. The three palaces are the Central Palace (Chung kung), Eastern Palace (Tung kung) and Western Palace (Hsi kung). The empress is referred to as the Chung kung niang niang 中宮娘娘. Each of the other two were occupied by an imperial concubine. Sometimes only the Eastern and Western palaces were instituted. In which case, the Tung kung is the empress, and it also represents the heir-apparent, and the Hsi kung will then be assigned to one of the highest imperial concubines.

[25] KQ. Vol. 1, pp. 114–115.

[26] A spray of peacock feathers with three ocellate spots which indicate the high rank of an officer.

When Altanšag-a got an eyeful of Solungğu-a, he withdrew his lance and smilingly asked who she was. Solungğu-a, startled by the encounter with this young enemy warrior, raised her eyes and looked at him:

> "Alas, his eyebrows were like the blue mountains clear. His eyes bright as the clear spring. His lips red, teeth white. His body slim, his waist slender. He wore a silver helmet and armor, with pheasant-tail plume. His movement and demeanour were exceptionally pleasant, and when one meets him one cannot help but smile with joy."[27]

The peacock plume and leopard-skin apron and the pheasant-tail plume all represent northern barbarian warriors in Chinese popular writings. It is interesting to note that in Chinese opera all northern barbarian warriors are invariably represented with two long pheasant-tail plumes over three feet long set like an antenna. Two long tails of fox or wolf stream down from the helmet either in front or in the back.

The most apparent Chinese influence on the *Köke sudur* is found in Chinese loan words, especially of official titles. Many of these titles had already been well established in Mongolian as part of the Chinese loan words in Mongolian. There is also a certain amount of "loan translation" of Chinese philosophical terms and idioms inasmuch as the author bases his historical criticism on Chinese history. The author also succeeded in adapting certain themes from Chinese literature. For example, in describing the first major battle of the famed Mongolian general Moquli, the author adopts almost verbatim from the *Ts'ao-k'ui lun chan* (The discussion of War by Ts'ao-k'ui) in the *Tsuo Chuan* 左傳.[28] When it was reported that the Taichud, Samuu and the Tatar had united and were about to invade the Mongols with 30,000 men, Moquli comes to see Cinggis during the night to discuss the situation. Moquli reported to Cinggis that his side had less than 20,000 men, young and old put together, and that the enemy's morale was reported to be very high. He asks Cinggis why he believes they can be victorious. Cinggis gives three reasons why he thinks he can depend on his men: One, that he has never been selfish and always cared for his men by giving away his own food and clothing to those who needed; two, that he has always been pious in worshipping the spirits and gods of his ancestors; three, that he has always judged his people's right or wrong, as if they were his own, without prejudice. In Moquli's opinion, these points were indeed assets on the side of Cinggis, that they could depend on their men's loyalty, but they were not sufficient to win the war. Now he suggests to Cinggis to provide his men with more drums, cymbals and flags and standards. On the day of the great battle, the enemy was eager to engage in battle and rushed the Mongols' camp, but each time the Mongols simply held their position by archery. After the third attack, Moquli himself dismounted from his horse and grabbed the sticks of the great drum, beat it with all his might and thundered his command to charge. From eight directions the ten regiments all responded with great din of drum and cymbal. The Mongols charged and one Mongol matched ten of the enemy. When the enemy was crushed and in flight, Moquli did not allow his men to pursue the enemy, until he himself had climbed on top of a cart and made a careful observation of the flags and standards and the tracks of the enemy horses and carts. Later, after the battle, Moquli expounds his reasons for holding the charge of enemy: "At the first sounding of a drum, the spirits of the men are aroused and they will charge with great energy. When the drum beats are heard a second time the morale of the men is but slightly excited. At the third drum, the spirits of the men will be spent. We beat our drums at the time when the enemy's spirit was exhausted, this was how we were victorious. The reason why I did not allow our men to pursue the enemy immediately was that the Taichuds are a strong nation and we must not underestimate them. What if they had feigned a defeat and prepared an ambush? If they feigned a defeat, their retreat would have been orderly and the tracks left by their horses and carts would have indicated it. When I dismounted and examined the tracks they were in utter disorder. And also when I climbed on top of a cart and observed the flight of the enemy I saw their flags and standards were all in confusion, indicating their utter disorder in flight. Therefore I knew that the enemy was truly in flight and no ambush was planned."

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[27] KQ. Vol. 1, p. 248.

[28] *Tso Commentary* or *Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals* by Tso Ch'iu-ming 左丘明.

This is exactly how Ts'ao-k'ui was said to have explained after he helped his sovereign the King of the state of Lu against the invading force of Ch'i in B. C. 684. While this is an example of a wholesale borrowing from a Chinese literary source, there are also adaptions rooted in Chinese writings. The *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* is of course a treasure house for such fascinating episodes. For example, the famed Chu-ko Liang uses a ruse to "borrow" arrows from the enemy, one of the most popular episodes about the cleverness of the great general. I shall quote here the description of this episode by Herbert A. Giles:

> "This is how the great commander Chu-ko Liang is said to have replenished his failing stock of arrows. He sent a force of some twenty or more ships to feign an attack on the fleet of his powerful rival, Ts'ao Ts'ao. The decks of the ships were apparently covered with large numbers of fighting men, but these were in reality nothing more than straw figures dressed up in soldiers' clothes. On each ship there were only a few sailors and some real soldiers with gongs and other noisy instruments. Reaching their destination, as had been carefully calculated beforehand, in the middle of a dense fog, the soldiers at once began to beat on their gongs as if about to go into action; whereupon Ts'ao Ts'ao, who could just make out the outline of vessels densely packed with fighting men bearing down upon him, gave orders to his archers to begin shooting. The latter did so, and kept on for an hour and more, until Chu-ko Liang was satisfied with what he had got, and passed the order to retreat."[29]

Moquli also used more or less the same ruse to replenish his stock of arrows, except it was carried out on land instead of water. After six days under enemy siege, the Mongol defenders had run out of arrows. He simply ordered his men to pile up stacks of hay on the outer fringe of the entrenchment during the night under the cover of a raging northern wind and sand storm. At the first cannon roar, the Mongols raised a great din with trumpet and gong and shouts in feigning an attack. The enemy thought the Mongols were to attack and let loose their arrows toward the Mongol camp. This was repeated twice and when the enemy finally approached the Mongol camp for a closer examination, Moquli shouted "Thanks for the arrows!" to Arslan Khan. Perhaps this is not as original and clever as Chu-ko Liang's trick, but still is something plausible and realistic.

Elsewhere, we read of an archery competition which, despite Mongolian tradition, recalls one particular archery competition in the *Romance of the Three Kingdoms*. In this particular competition, the prize was a robe hung upon a twig. The hero shoots the twig, severs it and carries off the robe. In the Mongolian counterpart a golden coat of mail takes the place of the robe.

The above examples are some of the author's "borrowings" or "adaptations" from Chinese literary achievements. However, such instances are not too prevalent but occur rather scattered and do not at all suffice to submerge the national characteristics of the whole work.

It must be noted that until the writing of the *Köke sudur*, no Mongolian author dared challenge the role of Buddhism and its devastating effect in Mongolia. It is true there were critical writings by the lama clergy exposing its abuses and corruptions and advocating return to a purer way of life. Injannasi was the first writer who openly attacked the Lama Buddhist church as a whole. Both in his introductory section and in his main text, the author expounds his views on Lama Buddhism and severely castigates its clergy. His anti-Lamaistic view made him unpopular with the church but he struck a very sympathetic chord among his readers.

If the author was severely critical of the Lama Buddhist church he was equally critical of his peers, the nobility of his time, for their ignorance, corruption and vices, at the same time jabbing the Manchus for abetting them. The view has been expressed that "no Mongol thinker . . . alighted on the theme of political independence [during 19th century]."[30] If this insinuates that perhaps the Mongols were content to be a part of the Manchu Empire, it needs amplification. The Manchus did not tolerate any writing even remotely suggestive of sedition, not to mention any work suggesting Mongolian national independence. It is no small wonder the *Köke sudur* was allowed to be circulated during the author's time, when it contained not only criticism of the Manchu policy, but indeed advocated political independence indirectly.

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[29] Herbert A. Giles, *A History of Chinese Literature*, p. 277.

In fact the whole theme of the *Köke sudur* was built on the premise that the Mongols were formerly a great people. Not only were they an independent nation, but they established a colossal empire. When the Mongols united, they were able to build a world empire and insure the prosperity for future generations. When the Mongols were divided, they fell prey to others. The chief reason for the downfall of the Great Mongol Empire the author attributes largely to Lama Buddhism and internal discord. The author was highly successful in bringing out the contrast between Mongols in their heyday of the time of the Great Mongol Empire and the downtrodden, miserable condition of his contemporary Mongols. In not a few instances, the author extolls the glory of independent statehood. The messege thus conveyed to his Mongol reader is a clear one.

It is true that Injannasi's work was not printed during his life time and that the hand written copies made it difficult to reach a large number of readers. But it made a tremendous impact in Inner Mongolia when it was first published in 1940 during the height of Mongolian nationalism. It became even more popular in the 1950's and 1960's when a new and better edition was printed together with other works of the author Injannasi, thanks to the feverish literary activities of Inner Mongolian scholars.

To sum up, the *Köke sudur* occupies a unique position in Mongolian literature as the one and only novel based on a Mongolian theme which contains much earlier tradition and literary heritage and the creative imagination of the author. Though the value of the *Köke sudur* as a document of historical source is questionable, nevertheless it contains information from sources no longer extant. The *Köke sudur* contains much material descriptive of 19th-century Mongolian society and its psyche which provides us with important sources for studying the development of Mongolian nationalism. Perhaps the greatest merit of the *Köke sudur* lies in its abundant literary forms and the artistry of the author's writing. No literary researcher of Mongolian literature can afford to bypass the achievement of the *Köke sudur*.

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[30] C. R. Bawden, *The Modern History of Mongolia*, p. 170.

CHAPTER V

THE TOBCITU TOLTA

Perhaps the most interesting and significant part of the entire *Köke sudur* is the extensive introductory section which precedes the main text. It gives detailed information about the author himself and his family, why he undertook the work, and how the work is to be read. Granted that the value of the *Köke sudur* as a historical chronicle is questionable, the introductory section is a masterpiece of Mongolian literature and marks Injannasi as an author, scholar, poet, historian and patriot.

The introductory section, called *Tobcitu tolta* by the author originally consisted of twelve parts (TT. Pt. II, p. 19). Unfortunately only parts 1–8 have been found. It contains over 22,000 words.

Since the *Tobcitu tolta* provides us with much information about the author and his viewpoints which is in the form of individual essays, each representing a separate topic, I present an English translation of the whole of this section with annotation.

The original text does not provide us with a table of contents of the *Tobcitu tolta*. The following is a brief description of the major topic of each of the eight parts:

0 The author's view on Lama Buddhism 1*
1 The birth date and other facts of Buddha; the birth date of Cinggis 5
2 The reason and purpose of the writing of the *Köke sudur* 10
3 Personal genealogy of the author. The author's criticism of the Manchu policy and his criticism of his peers 20
4 The importance of the *Tobcitu tolta*. The author's claim: the *Köke sudur* is a standard history, not fiction 33
5 The importance of knowing one's own national history 45
6 The author's philosophy of life 57
7 "A Frank Essay on Distinguishing Prejudice and Falsehood" . . 68
8 Birth date and brief notes on Confucius 94

* The pagination given here is according to the KQ.

杜受田 (1787–1852)[62], the Grand Tutor of Lord Hsien-fêng 咸豐 (1851–1862), in memorializing the throne stated that if the Mongols were taught to read books, it might change their original simplicity and honesty. Therefore, the Mongols were mercifully spared this corruption. If this be true, [24] the Manchus of this Great Empire were originally just like the Mongols. But the Manchus were taught to read books, be examined, and also provided with military training and selections have made among them. Can we consider this then as corrupting them?

Furthermore, the purpose of the *Imperial Precepts* (Boğda-yin surğal)[63] is to cultivate and educate everyone and it aims to improve everyone who reads and learns it. How could it corrupt and spoil anyone? Let us suppose then that they consider contemporary Mongols fools because they live in the northern lands and think that they will never learn even if taught, and hence view it a wasted effort. But it appears that present day Mongols have become devoted Buddhists of the Yellow sect, and are well versed in the Five Canons of the Teaching of the Void. They involve themselves in the pure theories of boundless and limitless intangible doctrines. Some of them journey for 10.000 *li*'s to Lhasa, experiencing untold hardships in obtaining the theological degrees of Lharampa and Dorumpa.[64] This fact certainly proves that the Mongols of today are no more fools than the old. Therefore, there is some truth in the ancient sayings that if there is benefit there is disadvantage, and where there is incentive there is striving. If the Mongols go 10,000 li's in order to work for such an intangible honor, they certainly will not shun going to the capital a thousand *li*'s away, if they were only permitted. It is only because there is no such opportunity, that there is no one who strives for it. Certainly it is not because they are all fools.

If one compares the so-called Five Canons of the doctrine of *tsanid*[65] with the ***Four Books*** and ***Five Canons*** of the Confucian classics, the former [25] is five times more in size and ten times more complicated and difficult in its transformations and evolutions. To memorize them all by heart and to be trained in transforming these theories, requires much greater effort than to pass the examinations for *Chü-jên* and *Chuang-yüan*.[66] If one has the mind to learn things like this [the Buddhist theology], there is no difficulty whatever in learning the books of Confucianism. Everything there is to learn, is explicit and concrete in Confucianism. Be that as it may. Let us assume that the Mongols are all fools.

Let us now talk about military training. Even if the Mongols did not possess intelligence and talent for learning, do they not possess the raw brawn from eating mutton and beef? Well, at least their military training could be examined to provide them with some opportunity, but their military arts are not being examined. If this is because all the Mongols belong to their respective ruling princes, then why not let their respective princes conduct such examinations and promote those who are thus selected within the hierarchy of the banner system? How could these be detrimental to the state? Therefore, for a long time, I have been puzzled and bewildered by this question. In trying to find an answer to this question, I have often asked others, and there came to be a rather amusing anecdote of such a quest for answers. If I should relate it here, it would be rather amusing. I call this "An Essay of Things". What things? Well, it begins from not knowing what thing oneself is.

At present, there are Mongols of almost three hundred banners within the so-called Inner Six Confederations[67] and Outer Four Khalkhas,[68] plus Köke-nuur and Torgud aimaks.[69] They all have their hereditary ruling princes. [26] I have often grown bewildered thinking about them. These Mongols are supposed to be the subjects of the Son-of-Heaven, yet they remain strangely foreign to the way of subjects. The Mongolian banners are not independent foreign nations, since all citizens of these banners are listed in the census of the Department of Mongolian Affairs[70] and their liege lords have no power over them. They do not fit any category no matter how one tries. This question puzzled me for quite some time. Fortunately, by chance I happened to encounter a learned man of this time and I immediately took the opportunity to ask him: "At this time and age there is a strange object, or rather a living being. This thing has never learned books nor military arts. He does not possess extra eyes, noses nor arms and legs. His manner of speech and actions are not much different than others. Some of his kind are blind, lame, dumb and deformed like ordinary folks, and some are ignoramuses and libertines. These beings wear "rank-buttons"[71] made of all kinds of precious stones and five-colored peacock plumes on top of their hats. They put brocade in dragon

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[62] See Arthur W. Hummel, Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period (1644–1912), p. 779.

[63] *Boğda-yin surğal-i sengkeregülün badarğuluğsan bicig* also known by the Chinese title: Shêng-yü Kuang-hsün 聖諭廣訓 (1724). The precepts of the second Ch'ing emperor K'ang-hsi (1662–1723) published by his successor Yung-chêng (1723–1736). One of the most widely spread trilingual (Manchu-Mongol-Chinese) texts used in school instruction by Mongols.

[64] Tib. *Lha-rama-pa, Do-rama-pa*, Tibetan Buddhist theological degrees.

[65] Tib. *tsan-nyid*·Mo. *belge cinar* "dispute".

[66] Ch. *chü-jên* 舉人 A second graduate degree. *Chuang-yüan* 狀元 Highest degree of the *Hanlin Academy*.

[67] These are the six Inner Mongolian Confederations: Jerim, Juu-uda, Jusutu, Silin-gol, Ulan-cab and Yeke-juu confederations.

[68] These are the four Khalkha aimaks: Jasağ-tu Khan, Sain-noyan Khan, Tüsiyetü Khan and Tsetsen Khan Aimaks of pre-revolutionary Outer Mongolia.

[69] Köke-nuur is the mo. term for Ch'inghai Province. Torğud "Torguts" are the Oirad Mongols in Sinkiang Province.

[70] Li Fan Yüan (or Li Fan Pu) 理藩院 Department in Charge of Mongolian and Tibetan affairs during the Manchu Ch'ing dynasty.

[71] mo. *jingse*, Ch. ting-tzŭ 頂子 a knob or button worn on the hat to indicate official rank.

THE TOBCITU TOLTA

THE ORIGINAL PREFACE

In the second spring moon of the third year of Chih-yüan 至元[1] (1266), the Wên-wu huang-ti 文武皇帝[2] Qubilai secen Shih-tsu 世祖 qağan,[3] the Emperor of the Yüan 元 dynasty (1260–1368),[4] in his August Person conducted the pacifying campaign against the rebellions in the districts of Ch'i 齊[5] and Lu 魯.[6] [His Majesty] graciously promoted [Sung] Tzŭ-chên [宋子貞[7] high in government and accepted his counsel and remonstration and appointed him the chief minister in charge of "The Three Ministries on the Right."[8] At the same time, the Emperor heard the name of a scholar with the surname Chang 張 and byname Teh-hui 德輝[9] who was under the command of Shih T'ien-tsê 史天澤[10] when His Majesty was in Fan-ti 藩邸.[11] The Emperor commanded Chang to be brought to his presence and asked him the following question: "We have often heard, during the rise of our Mongol Empire, such idle remarks as 'the former Liao Empire (907–1125) was ruined by the doctrine of Buddhism and the late Chin Empire (1115–1234) fell because of the teaching of Confucianism.' Why is this? Is it possible that religion and learning could be detrimental to the affairs of state?". Chang answered respectfully: "The powers of the Liao Empire were in the hands of the descendants of high officials and those of the Chin were in the hands of the Imperial clans. Therefore both states were ruined by power elites. Why is this so? Because those who wielded the power of administration were all ennobled aristocrats who enjoyed hereditary office. Although there were a few learned scholar-ministers, they were not able to counsel the great affairs of state. [And since they] did [2] not serve as envoys to foreign states, they were ignorant of [foreign affairs].[12] As to the cause of the downfall of the Chin, it was caused by the unjust punishment of their officials." The Emperor agreed with his statement and commanded as follows: "Buddhism pacifies human character and Confucianism regulates human conduct. They are both noble ideologies. Yet those who do not know how to regulate these principles will favor one against the other and often violate the equilibrium of the Way of the World.[13] The foundations of both Buddhism and Confucianism are based on the nature of the Way of the World. If one indulges in Buddhism and Confucianism but neglects the Way of the World, then both Buddhism and Confucianism will have nothing to depend on and calamities will arrive. Although We adhere to both Buddhism and Confucianism, We shall not permit them beyond the bound of the Way of the World. Both of these teachings were to be taken up after the state had stabilized. If it is a matter of founding a nation and constructing an empire, one must only depend on the current of the world. If one should adhere to one of these teachings, it will only serve as a shackle and it will become a serious hindrance in national construction. Therefore, our August Ancestor the Shêng-wu huang-ti 聖武皇帝[14] Cinggis qaγan, founder of our Blue Mongol Empire, forbade any teaching which was contrary to the Way of the World. Only when a nation enjoys long years of peace and when they forget war will they neglect the Way of the World and be inclined to adhere to other teachings; and when the fate of the nation is doomed, it will become the cause or its downfall. Therefore when the Liao [3] was able to achieve peace, then they became adherents of a foreign doctrine, and they saw a great spread of religion. This in turn caused neglect of the Way of the World and the nation was ruined. Hence it was said that Buddhism was the downfall of the Liao Empire. When the Chin Empire achieved peace and prosperity, they too began to indulge in books and verses and neglected the virtue of military readiness. Hence they too lost the Way of the World and ultimately the Empire. That is why it was said that the downfall of Chin was Confucianism. Only the Sung dynasty (960–1280) which experienced both of these difficulties was able to remain vigilant and was able to stand until today. My lord, can you venture to predict what kind of difficulties will face Our Mongolian Empire in future times?" Chang Teh-hui prostrated himself and replied that he did not know. The Emperor smiled slightly and commanded: "The founding of our empire was similar to the Empires of Liao and Chin. The land and climate and the characters of the people of our country are very similar to these two states. Therefore, when the great peace descends upon us, it is likely we will devote ourselves to Buddhism. Why? We have permitted the spread of the Three Teachings (三教),[15] Six Schools[16] and Nine Classes (九流).[17] When we compare their theories, we find the teaching of Buddhism alone is profound and far-reaching, lofty and intricate, its sects and ways are many and its reaches and goals are numerous. The characteristics of us Mongols are rather peculiar. They know their limitations, yet try to attain the loftiest goal. We fear in the future we Mongols will become entangled with Buddhism and will neglect the affairs of the world. When one wants an easy life and at the same time tries to attain a lofty goal, nothing good will happen to the state. Therefore, if We were to take preventive measures now and completely eradicate the spread of Buddhism, We find there is no [4] precedent that early sovereigns and recent rulers ever completely interrupted the dissemination of the Three Teachings, and We fear such action may violate the way of the ruler."

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[1] One of the styles of reigns of the Yüan emperors.

[2] The posthumous title of Qubilai Khan of the Yüan dynasty.

[3] *secen* mo. "brilliant". Qubilai secen qagan is the Mongolian appellation of Qubilai Khan. Shih-tsu 世祖 is the *miao-hao* 廟號 or "temple name" of Qubilai Khan (1260–1294).

[4] The Mongol dynasty founded by Qubilai Khan in China after the Mongol conquest.

[5] Ch'i 齊. The name of N. E. Shantung and part of Chihli provinces.

[6] Lu 魯 is the ancient name of Shantung province of China.

[7] There is a biography of him in the *Yüan-shih* 159. 1a4–3b7.

[8] Ch. yu san pu shang-shu 右三部尙書. In the first year of the reign of Qubilai, the ministries of Military Affairs (Pin Pu 兵部), Justice (Hsing Pu 刑部) and Public Works (Kung Pu 工部) were referred to as "The Three Ministries on the Right" and were governed by one minister. The ministries of Civil Service (Li Pu 吏部), Revenue and Census (Hu Pu 戶部) and Rites (Li Pu 禮部) were "The Three Ministries on the Left."

[9] There is a biography of him in the *Yüan-shih* 163. 9b10–13b4.

[10] See biography in *Yüan-shih* 155. 10a3–16a8.

[11] Fan-ti 藩邸 means "court of a feudatory prince". In the *Yüan-shih* Chang Teh-hui's biography (163. 9b10–13b4), the equivalent passage says:
世祖在潛邸 i. e. "Shih-tsu was in the residence of the heir-apparent".
In the *Hsü tzu chih t'ung chien kang mu*, Vol. 21, p. 23r, we read:

(至元三年)... 秋七月。蒙古以張德輝叅議中書省事。初德輝在史天澤幕下。蒙古主在藩邸聞之召見。問曰。或云遼以釋癈。金以儒亡。有諸。對曰。遼事臣未周知。金季乃所親睹。宰執皆武弁世爵。雖用一二儒臣。及論軍國大事。又不使預聞。然則金之存亡自有任其責者。蒙古主然之。

> [Chih-yüan third year] ... In the seventh moon of autumn, the Mongols appointed Chang Teh-hui to counsel the affairs of Chung-shu-shêng (Grand Secretariat). Earlier, Teh-hui was a staff member under the command of Shih T'ien-tse, when the Mongol sovereign was in the residence of heir-apparent [i. e. when Qubilai had not yet ascended the throne of Emperor] he heard of him and summoned him to his court for an audience. [Qubilai] asked [Chang] "Some say Liao was ruined by Buddhism and the Chin was destroyed by Confucianism. May such things be possible?" [Chang] answered: "Your subject does not know well of the affairs of Liao, but he witnessed the fall of Chin. Their ministers were military officers and hereditary nobles. Although [they] did employ one or two Confucian scholars, when they were asked to participate in the state affairs, they were not informed beforehand. But then there are those who must accept the blame of the fall of Chin." The Mongol sovereign agreed to this statement.

In the *Yüan-shih, loc. cit.* Chang's answer was slightly more elaborate than in the *Kang-mu*. After 不使預聞 Chang was to have said:

大抵以儒進者三十之一國之存亡自有任其責者儒何咎焉世祖然之。

> "... Roughly those who advanced to high positions through Confucian education were 1/30. There are those who must accept the blame of the fall of a nation. How could one blame Confucian scholars?"

[12] The Mongolian passage here is not very clear as it says:

> "... ğadağadu ulus-tur elci bolju iregsen ügei tula oğtu olju ese medebe." (KQ, TT: 1:13). Literally: "... since [they] did not go to foreign contries as ambassadors, [they] were not able to know."

[13] *yirtincü-yin erke* and *yirtincü-yin yosu* are both used interchangeably to render the Chinese Confucian concept of Shih-tao 世道 meaning the way of the world, i. e. the accepted customs, manners and morals.

Alas, the wise and learned ones should reflect on this statement! The decline of our Mongols was the result of too much easy living and pursuing a lofty principle – Buddhism. How we are suffering the consequences! To this day we have not awakened to the fact that all of us wanted to become Buddhas, but instead we became ogres! Can everyone become a Buddha? Isn't this seeking one's death by attempting to fly even before one can crawl and stand upright? When one tries to explain this fact, he is accused of being an infidel or heretic before he is heard. It is for this reason that I shall not try to identify right from wrong, and simply follow the dictates of tradition. I shall begin this Mongolian *Köke sudur* with the fact of the Lord Buddha. After all, we believers in Buddhism should know about our Buddha. Originally, Buddha was the Buddha of India. Now somehow we made him a Buddha of the Mongols. So we shall begin this history with the Enlightened One. This is our Mongolian tradition. I hope those learned ones will not be angry at this.

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[14] "Holy and Martial Emperor" Posthumous "temple name" of Cinggis Khan.

[15] Also referred to as Three Religions, namely: Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism.

[16] This probably is the author's rendering of the Ch. *lu chia* 六家 (Six Philosophies) which indicates the following schools of philosophy: Geomancy, Confucianism, Moism, Logic, Legalism, Moralism.

[17] Ch. *chiu-liu* 九流 (Nine schools of philosophy) Confucianism, Taoism, Divination, Legalism, Logic, Moism, Politics, Miscellaneous and Agriculture.

[5] THE BLUE CHRONICLE OF THE RISE OF THE GREAT YÜAN DYNASTY

A SET OF EXPLANATORY REMARKS

PART ONE OF THE *TOBCITU TOLTA*[18]

Main Introduction to the Blue Chronicle of the Rise of the Great Yüan Dynasty

Explanation, Direction and Guide

A Calculation of the Birth Year of the Buddha from the Day of the Lord which is Named *Bütügegci* (Success), the Eighth Day of the White Moon, the Tenth Year of T'ung-chih (February 26, 1871).

The enlightened Buddha Gautama Sakyamuni was born into this world on the seventh day of the fourth moon of the White Monkey Year, the thirty-second year of the fifth emperor Chou Chao Wang 周昭王[19] (1021 B.C.) of the Chou dynasty (1122–256 B.C.). [The Buddha] was named Gautama at his birth. He left his home and entered monkhood when he was twenty-nine years old, in the first summer moon, the eighth day of the fourth moon of the ninth year, the Yellow Mouse Year, of Mu Wang 穆王[20] (993 B.C.) of the Chou dynasty. In the fifteenth year of Mu Wang (987 B.C.) and the year of the Blue Horse, he completed his six years of meditation and on the fifteenth day of the fourth moon he entered Buddhahood. On the fourth day of the sixth moon of the same year he began to turn the Wheel of Dharma.[21] On the twenty-second day of the ninth moon of the White Mouse year, the twenty-first year of Mu Wang (981 B.C.), having completed ninety days of *yarnai* [*dbyar-gnas* (Tib.) the solitary summer-fasting of monks] in Paradise he returned to this world. At this time, the sandalwood image of Buddha which had been presented to his father the King, moved forward to greet the Buddha, a distance of three big steps in seven movements. At this, the Buddha touched the head of the image with his hand and blessed thus: "All creatures of the future, and the five aeons of moral decay, whosoever may meet you, let it be the same as meeting me. And the fortunate one shall be delivered from this world because of you." It is said the sandalwood image of Buddha now in the capital is one exactly like this.

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[18] *Tobcitu tolta* means "Summary of essence", "outline of important facts", etc. *tolta* is also spelled: *toltu*, *tolti* which means "the artery of heart"; hence it has the extended meanings "core; essence," etc. It appears to me *tobcitu tolta* is the author's rendition of the Chinese *Kang-mu* 綱目 (a general outline, text and commentary) in Mongolian. I adopt here the author's spelling *tolta* as in the Tümed Ms (TM XVII. p. 15:6).

[19] King Chao of Chou dynasty (1052–1002 B. C.).

[20] King Mu of Chou dynasty (1001–947 B. C.).

[21] *nom-un kürdün ergigülkü* "to turn the wheel of religion", a metaphor for preaching, explaining religious books, or spreading religion.

[6] When Buddha was twenty-one years old, Mu Wang of Chou ascended the throne. And Mu Wang died when the Buddha was sixty-five years old. It was the Blue Mouse Year. When the Buddha was seventy-six years old, in the Female Blue Hog Year, Kung Wang 共王[22] of Chou ascended the throne. Buddha achieved *Nirvana* on the fifteenth day of the fourth moon, the sixth year of Kung Wang, the year of White Dragon (941 B.C.) at the age of eighty-one. From the White Monkey Year, the thirty-second year of the reign of Chao Wang of the Chou dynasty when Buddha was born, to the White Sheep Year, the tenth year of T'ung-chih 同治 (1871) of this present dynasty, 2892 years have elapsed. This has been calculated according to the *ši ši tung qau bicig*[23] and *Wan nien li* 萬年曆,[24] and the *Sagimuni burqan-u šandab sudur* edited by the blind Jangja (Tib. lCan skya) Khutukhtu.[25] It is hoped that future scholars will verify these dates, and should the dates differ in other works, they should be computed and enumerated as I have done to benefit the research of future scholars.

The Enlightened Tsonk'aba Lubsangrahba, who clarified the Yellow Faith beyond doubt, was born on the twenty-fifth day of the tenth moon of the Red Cock Year, the Chih-chêng 至正 seventeenth year of the reign of the Hui-tsung 惠宗 Toğan-temür Uqağatu qağan (1357), the fourteenth emperor of the Yüan dynasty. He was born at the mouth of the Songgina river in Kumbum of the Tangut country. He took the vow of *ubasi*[26] when he was five years old, and he took the vow of monkhood at the age of seven. He took the *getsül* (Tib. *Dge-tshul*)[27] vow when he was fifteen years old and he went to Lhasa at the age of twenty-one. The last Yüan Emperor Toğun-temür was referred to by the Chinese as Shun-ti 順帝. [7] When Shun-ti first ascended the throne, he adopted the reign title Yüan-chên 元貞, and after two years it was changed to Chih-yüan 至元 which continued for six years. Later the reign title was again changed to Chih-chêng 至正 and at the twenty-seventh year, the year of the Female Red Sheep (1367), he lost the realm of the Great Yüan Empire to the founder of Ming 明 dynasty (1368–1644), Chu Yüan-chang 朱元璋 whose childhood name was Hung-wu 洪武, who usurped the throne of his liege lord and who adopted the reign title of Hung-wu. In that year when the Yüan dynasty fell, Tsongk'aba was eleven years old. Toğun-temür qağan reigned a total of thirty-five years and then was exiled to the North. The founder of Ming ruled for thirty years, his grandson Hanyu[28] the Chien wên ti 建文帝 succeeded him and ruled five years, when his uncle Han-kêng[29] the Prince of Yen 燕王 usurped the throne and reigned as Yung-lo 永樂. Thereupon the Ming Emperor learned the marvels of the Enlightened Tsongk'aba and sent an embassy to invite him in the year of the Red Monkey, the fourteenth year of Yung-lo (1416). But the Enlightened Tsongk'aba pleaded old age and saying that he would not be able to return in time before his death, sent his disciple the *corji*[30] lama Jamcong in his stead. At the age of sixty-three, in the seventeenth year of Yung-lo (1419), the year of the Female Yellow Hog, on the same twenty-fifth day of the tenth moon he entered *Nirvana*. From the Red Cock Year, the seventeenth year of Chih-chêng (1357) of the reign of Yüan Shun-ti Toğun-temür Uqağatu qağan to the tenth Emperor of the present dynasty, the tenth year of T'ung-chih (1871), the White Sheep Year, it has been exactly 515 years.

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[22] King Kung 共王 (946–935 B. C.).

[23] The mo. transcription of Chinese *ši* stands both for Chinese *hsi* and *shih*. *tung qau* here is clearly for the Chinese t'ung-k'ao, i. e. encyclopaedia dealing with biographical notes. The exact title of this work has yet to be identified.

[24] "Calendar of ten thousand years". Cf. Heissig, PLB, p. 172, no. 216 and Poppe, et al. Catalogue . . . Toyo Bunko, p. 178, no. 210. The author did not indicate whether this work was a Mongolian translation or an original Chinese edition.

[25] This does not appear to be the complete original title of the work. *šandab* is the Mongolian transcription of Tib. *çam-thabs* which means "apron" or "undergarment".

[26] *ubasi* S. *upāsaka* A religious vow for laymen.

[27] A member of the clergy of the second rank.

[8] A Calculation of the Date of Birth of the Emperor T'ai-tsu[31] Shêng-wu huang-ti Cinggis Qağan Who Founded the Empire by the Will of Heaven, the Founder of the Great Empire in the Blue Chronicle of the Rise of the Great Yüan Dynasty

The Black Horse Year (1162) in which the August Cinggis was born was in the thirty-second year of Shao-hsing 紹興 of the tenth emperor Kao-tsung 高宗 whose name was Chao Chiang 趙構, who moved his capital to the south and was known as the Southern Sung 南宋 (1127–1280). It was also the second year of Ta-ting 大定 of the third emperor Shih-tsung 世宗 of the Chin dynasty whose name was Wan-yen Yung 完顏雍. The August Cinggis was born on the sixteenth day of the fourth moon at the Horse hour. From this Black Horse Year to the White Sheep Year of this tenth year of T'ung-chih of the tenth Emperor of this present dynasty, 710 years have elapsed. This date has been arrived at by consulting many documents and works and there is no doubt about its accuracy. Thence from the time when the August Cinggis ascended the throne at the age of forty-five, on the first day of the twelfth moon in the K'ai-hsi 開禧 second year (1206) of Ning-tsung 寧宗 Emperor of the southern Sung whose name was Chao Heng 趙擴[32] and the sixth year of T'ai-ho 泰和 of the fifth emperor Chang-tsung 章宗 of the Chin dynasty whose name was Wan-yen Ching 完顏璟 and the Red Tiger Year. Within eight generations, fourteen emperors reigned and until the twenty-seventh year of Chih-cheng of the Uqağatu qağan Tonğun-temür Shun-ti the Hui-tsung, [9] the Red Sheep Year, 162 years have elapsed. In this regard the corrupted Ming historians in toadying to Chu Hung-wu, ignored the forty-nine years of the reigns of T'ai-tsu, T'ai-tsung[33] [Ögedei], Ting-tsung 定宗 [Güyüg],[34] Hsieng-tsung 憲宗[35] [Möngke] and also the four years of Chung-t'ung 中統 and fifteen years of the reign of Shih-tsu Qubilai, excluded a total of sixty-eight years and only began to count the reign of the Yüan dynasty when the Sung dynasty completely ceased to exist, from the sixteenth year of the Chih-yüan, of the fifth emperor Shih-tsu. They thus counted a total of eighty-nine years and declared that the northern Mongols could not reign for a hundred years. There is a further elaboration on this point in a separate *Tobcitu tolta*, namely part seven of the *Tobcitu tolta*.

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[28] Actually his name was Yün-wên 允炆.

[29] Actually his name was Ti 棣.

[30] Tib. *chos rje* "Lord or Master of Law", a theological degree.

[31] t'ai-tsu 太祖 is the "temple-name" of Cinggis Khan. *t'ai-tsu* is used to refer to the first emperor of a dynasty.

[32] Actually his name was Chao K'uo 趙擴.

[33] T'ai-tsung 太宗 is the "temple-name" of Ögedei Khan (1229–1241) the third son of Cinggis.

[34] Ting-tsung 定宗 is the "temple-name" of Güyüg (1246–1248), who succeeded Ögedei after his death.

[35] Hsieng-tsung 憲宗 is the "temple-name" of Möngke (1251–1259), the first son of Toli, the fourth son of Cinggis.

[10] THE BLUE CHRONICLE OF THE RISE OF THE GREAT YÜAN DYNASTY

A SET OF EXPLANATORY REMARKS

PART TWO OF THE *TOBCITU TOLTA*

"Men of education should never forget their origins," said the ancients. I, *taiji* Injannasi, since the age I began to discern things in this world, met many learned men in the four corners of the earth for twenty years. And I have observed that there are not a few learned men among the over three hundred banners of us Mongols. But, because from the very beginning of this present dynasty, no door has been open for achievements by education through book-learning, there was no incentive offered for the Mongols to work hard at diligent learning. Even so, the Mongols within the confines of the three Inner confederations, because of closeness to the capital and living at the fringe of the Middle Realm, have produced a considerable number of scholars versed in Chinese books and writings. Especially among Mongols in this Jusutu Confederation of ours who practically live within the confines of the Middle Realm, not a few have studied Chinese books and writings. Therefore, these people became erudite in ancient Chinese history and present-day accounts. They know the history of five thousand years ago, the Three Huangs (Three Emperors)[36] and the Five Ti's (The Five Emperors)[37] to Hsia 夏 Shang 商, Chou 周 and Chi'n 秦 and the states of West and East and Northern Hans 漢 and the dynasties of Chin 晋, Sung 宋, Southern Ch'i 齊, Liang 梁, Ch'ên 陳, Sui 隋, T'ang, 唐, Northern Liang, Northern Sung, Southern Sung, Chin and Liao with great clarity. Yet they know not their own history, the history of the Blue Mongol Empire. However they vaguely knew some accounts of the period of the Yüan dynasty, from the fifth emperor, [11] the Shih-tsu Qubilai Secen Wên-wu huang-ti, from the records of *Kang-mu*. But then what they knew were some badly abridged summary accounts, not to mention the fact that these were not always accurate and were distorted by polemics of the Chinese historians who purposely vilified Mongols in their writings. How can these distorted accounts be compared with the orthodox Yüan history? Because the *Yüan History* is difficult to find, the majority of these people base themselves on the highly abridged and distorted accounts of the *Kang-mu* in discussing [Mongol history]; and this is, of course, a great mistake. Therefore, very few of them at all knew how Cinggis qağan, who founded the Mongol dynasty, became a divine being and how he founded a colossal empire and ruled for sixty years. Is this not a pity? It has been a long time since I, *taiji*

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[36] The three legendary emperors, Fu Hsi 伏羲 Shên Nung 神農 and Huang Ti 黄帝 (ca. 2852–2597 B. C.) of Chinese history.

[37] The five legendary emperors (ca. 2952–2205 B. C.): T'ai Hao 太昊 Yen Ti 炎帝 Hunag Ti 黄帝 Shao Hao 少昊 Chuan Hsü 顓頊.

Injannasi, have been saddened by the fact that these so-called learned men did not care to investigate their own origin and instead wasted their time by devoting precious hours to the worthless literature of the T'ang and Sung periods. Therefore, my father, Prince Tusalağci Wangcinbala, began to compile [this] *Yeke yuwan ulus-un manduğsan törü-yin köke sudur* (The Blue Chronicle of the Rise of the Great Yüan Dynasty) and completed eight chapters in four books. Unfortunately, he had to delay its completion when he was called upon to defend the Sübe ama (Ch. Ing K'ou 營口) during the invasion of English bandits in the twentieth year of Tao-kuang 道光 (1840).[38] When the bandits subsequently withdrew, with the signing of an armistice, our forces returned home. But because of affairs of state and family, my father was not able to resume his writing. [12] He passed away at the Dragon hour[39] of the ninth day of the White moon of the twenty-seventh year of Tao-kuang (1847),[40] by emitting fragrant scent in his palace, and this chronicle was left unfinished. My elder brother Gülaransa, the Tusalağci who inherited the office, also was not able to continue this work to completion, because of responsibility in the affairs of the banner; and it also would have required no small effort to complete this work. Therefore it was left as it was, and alas, my elder brother too passed away in the first year of Hsien-fêng 咸豐 (1851). There the matter rested for thirty years. On occasion, my brothers Güng [Güngnacüka], Süng [Süngwaidanjung] and myself, tried to continue it, but because we found that dates and names, etc., had become obsolete and confused, we had to give up the work.

Later, when I, *taiji* Injannasi, reached the age of thirty, our family fortune began to decline and our trusted servants plundered and stole our property in hundreds of ways. Some of the family-run businesses began to lose their investments and we lost some of our crops. Domestically, the misfortunes of sickness and death befell our women and children. Two of our bondmen Cangming and Jingbuu stole our property in hundreds of ways until I reached the age of thirty-four. I was sickened by this turn of family fortune and almost fell ill by grieving. However, remembering my esteemed mother seventy years old, and my young son only six years old and [13] the great estate and serfs of my ancestors, I could not forsake them and resolved to wade through these difficult times for at least another year. In trying to divert this unbearable pressure and loneliness I thought to escape into books and literature, and by chance I came across this *Blue Chronicle of the Rise of the Great Yüan Dynasty*. I decided to fulfill a long-time ambition by completing this work, in order to leave it for the Mongols to know and understand their origin for ten thousand years. Thereupon I collected some ten works, chronicles, stories and legends, *shastras* and records related to the history of the Great Yüan, and began research work. Alas, because I, *taiji* Injannasi, not only did not possess a great store of talent in my last incarnation and was also not blessed with great ability and learning in this incarnation, I sometimes had to forsake sleep and food and worked my doltish brain day and night to accurately collate and conform the ten sources, and I almost went mad with pressure. My effort was like vomiting my heart's blood, limited by my low intelligence and by the ability of my weak eyes to examine many chronicles. With my shallow knowledge, I had to reconstruct the personal and geographical names and devoted all my insignificant efforts to making notes and writing. This work occupied my mind in rising and sitting, in resting and sleeping. Even when eating and drinking, I wrote and drew. I read [14] again and again and checked over and over, fearing that I might inadvertantly overlook or neglect to record an important event, or fail to bring out the correct interpretation of the words and phrases from the great history. My efforts in this regard truly taxed my whole energy and made my hair turn white and my face wrinkled, and caused my flesh to become lean and my muscles flabby. On top of this, there were many ancient Mongolian words and the loan vocabulary from the Uigur language which remained untranslated in many of my source materials, and they were difficult for Mongols to understand. Furthermore, some of the Mongol names appeared in Chinese records in a most confused and unintelligible rendering. The Manchu sources, which had been translated from the Chinese, made them even more confusing. Numerous errors were compounded four or five times. When I encountered such an error, I had to find the correct answer. Sometimes it truly taxed my whole energy obtained by sucking the white milk [of my mother's breasts], and sometimes I bogged down hopelessly. If I suddenly encountered an old Mongolian word which I did not understand, I would visit old folks in town and village, and go door to door hoping that someone would know the meaning. [15] In doing so, my mind and soul became completely exhausted. Especially, some of those, from our Jusutu Confederation who have some education are diligent in learning Chinese literature, but never bother to learn their own language. Besides, very few knew the northern Mongolian dialects. Therefore it was very difficult to find a correct answer if the word happened to be a northern dialect. Nay, it is even more difficult than to find the meaning of a Chinese word. Those of our light-headed ones who had learned to read a few words in Chinese would immediately regard Mongolian writings with contempt, and make such rash statements as "How could Mongolian letters express the profundities of Chinese thought?". What a colossal error this is! Why? Let us examine some of the apparent evidence. For example, our Mongolian numerals first go from one to ten, and then to a hundred, thousand, *tüme* (ten thousand), *bum* (hundred thousand), *say-a* (million), *kolti* (ten million), and *düngcüür* (hundred million). This makes the Mongolian numeral terms four digits longer than the Chinese. The Mongols do not use

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[38] During the Opium War of 1840, the Mongolian cavalry was called upon to defend the seacoast. Wangcinbala headed his banner troops and was assigned to defend Ing-K'ou 營口.

[39] From 7 to 9 a. m.

[40] February 23, 1847.

such a great number of abstract terms, but if need arises, the Mongolian letters will never be exhausted. Therefore, those who think that the Mongols did not have abstract terms should blame themselves for not learning those words which have hidden and abstract meaning. For those who say that no Mongolian words express deep and profound concepts are like one who bathes himself on the bank of an ocean and thinks the sea is shallow. No matter how one interprets, it is our fault that we did not learn. Therefore, I, Injannasi, when I encountered any old word or obsolete expression, I tried all possible ways to find its correct meaning. [16] I checked the preceding and following expressions, and if the meaning still eluded me, I would go and ask those senior citizens or else those who had travelled in the north. At present, there is no other place where one can study old Mongolian language except in the Mahakala Temple in Peking. Those who come after me will no doubt read my work without a hitch, just like galloping a horse, how could they know that I bled my heart's blood and spent sleepless nights in making this an easy task? Who will sympathize with me for this? If this book were ordinary fiction or light writing or embellished idle literature, it would have been easy. If one should encounter a lacuna, he could simply judge it from the preceding and following sentences and the context of that section and supply the idea or he could simply use his imagination. This chronicle is a standard history of the great Yüan dynasty and it is a fact that this great Yüan dynasty conquered lands which had never even been heard of before. Her power reached the far corners of the world, where foot had never been set before. Even such legendary times as the Three Huangs and Five Ti's never occupied such great territories. Even the early Hsia, Shang, Chou and Ch'in [dynasties] never conquered distant and strange lands. Although the annals of these empires claimed that they had conquered the Four Seas, they were confined to the bounds of the present [17] Great Wall and east of Tibet, north of Yün-nan and Kui-chou to the shore of the eastern sea, which consisted of the fifteen provinces within this area. How can they compare to this great Yüan dynasty who conquered the four directions and eight quarters beyond the ocean seas and included so many strange nations? When occasionally some foreign nationals came with strange gifts and with one request or another, the other dynasties recorded proudly in their annals that the whole world had come to offer submission to the Heavenly Kingdom. They never were able to conquer these people by conducting expeditions by themselves, like the Yüan dynasty. For this reason, how can I add any words or phrases of embellishment? Even if I tried hard, I would not be able to include in this work all the events of this colossal empire. How could I add any materials of my own creation? In writing this work, whenever an event occurred, I had to make sure of the origin and dates of such an event; I had to collate and check against various sources which taxed me unto death. Furthermore, the Chinese source, the famed *Chu tzŭ t'ung chien kang-mu*, records some Mongolian historical facts: some were accurately recorded, but there are also many complete disagreements. Added to this is the fact that this *Kang-mu* was the work of Chinese scribes who purposely tried their best to vilify the Mongols out of bitterness and petty jealousy, [18] and who failed to be unbiased, and we can no longer completely trust it and rely on it. However, the dates in this work were recorded clearly, and are accurate. But this work contains an enormous amount of universal history, hence it contains numerous dates and events, yet since the statements are compact and abridged and expressed subtly, it is difficult to comprehend and fully understand and digest clearly by those learned readers.[41] Especially later on it will become difficult to understand when the events of the fall of Chin and Sung, Hsia and the western region are related, there will be so many names of the generals of these nations and the occurrence of a great many events. Therefore the wise readers should make their mind quiet and their thought clear and read it carefully. This book may not be read as are those works of *San Kuo* (The Three Kingdoms),[42] *Shui-hu*,[43] *Hsi-yu chi* 西遊記[44] and *Chin p'ing Mei* 金瓶梅,[45] in which one can skim through the most interesting parts. Therefore I made explanatory notes of those ancient Mongolian words and misspelled names and did my best to ascertain and affirm the dates of many events. Those readers of future times must first read the volume of the Explanatory Mirror, and only then should they continue to read the text itself; then it will be easy to understand, and interesting to read. [19] Or else you may just not read it at all. It is for this reason, I present an Explanatory Mirror[46] in one volume here. Following this part there are ten parts of *Tobcitu Tolta*. Each of these parts presents a point related to this book. After having read them all, it will be smooth sailing for reading this book. Even those who do not care about the why and wherefore of this book, and only seek the exciting part, would do better to read the twelve parts of the *Tobcitu Tolta*, or else you will not find your excitement within.

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[41] It is not clear at all from the text whether the author is here criticizing Kang-mu, or explaining his own writing. It is possible words or phrases are missing which would have made it clear.

[42] *San-kuo chih* (Romance of the Three Kingdoms), cf. p. 40.

[43] *Shui-hu chuan* (All Men are Brothers).

[44] "Journey to the West", known as *Monkey* in the English translation.

[45] "Gold Vase Plum", known in English translation as *Golden Lotus*.

[46] *ilğaburitai toli* "Explanatory or clear mirror". I believe this is the title for the "Introductory" volume which included the author's preface and the twelve parts of the *Tobcitu tolta*.

[20] THE BLUE CHRONICLE OF THE RISE OF THE GREAT YÜAN DYNASTY
A SET OF EXPLANATORY REMARKS
PART THREE OF THE TOBCITU TOLTA

The twenty-eight generations of direct and uninterrupted line of our lineage are: The name of T'aitsu (Founding Emperor), the August Martial Emperor, who founded the Great Dynasty by the Will of Heaven was Temüjin. His fourth son was Jui-tsung 睿宗[47] Lord Toli. His fourth son was the Civil and Martial Emperor (Wên-wu huang-ti), the Shih-tsu Qubilai Secen qağan. His son was the Heir-apparent Prince Cinggim.[48] His eldest son was Cêng Darmabala qağan.[49] His son was the Jên-tsung 仁宗 Buyantu qağan[50] (1312–1320). His son was the Ming-ti 明帝[51] Jayağatu qağan (1329).[52] His son was the Hui-tsung Toğun-temür uqağantu qağan (1333–1368).[53] Within these seven generations, including succession by uncle and nephews and brothers, there were all together fourteen great qağans. This will be elaborated in later books. Within these seven generations there were fourteen great qağans, who reigned the empire for a total of 162 years. Toğun-temür's son was Usqal qan. His son was Qarqucas qan. His son was Aji *taiji*. His son was Abarai qan. His son was Qarğuciğ qan. His son was Bayan-möngke *jinung*.[54] His son was Barsbolud qan.[55] His son was Altan gegen dai yuwan qağan.[56] His son was Senggedügüreng qan. His son was Qaltu *noyan*. His son was Gümü *noyan*, the Ruling Prince of Tümed Right Banner. His son was the Ruling Prince Güngcigjab.[57] His son was Torjiyal *noyan*. His son was Cing-bisireltü *noyan*. His son was Dondub *noyan*. His son was Lhawangnorbu *noyan*. His son was the *tusalağci* Wangcinbala *noyan*. [21] No marriage to a commoner ocurred up to this Wang [Wangcinbala] noyan.

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[47] Jui-tsung was the "temple-name" of Toli, the fourth son of Cinggis. He was never a qağan, but received the "temple-name" because he was the father of both the Great Khans Möngke and Qubilai.

[48] Cinggim was Qubilai's eldest son born to the Empress. He died before Qubilai, and was later given the "temple-name": Yü-tsung 裕宗 and the epithet Wên-hui ming-hsiao huang-ti 文惠明孝皇帝. See his biography in Yüan-shih (115.3b10–10a5).

[49] The second son of Cinggim. He too died before Qubilai, and was given the "temple-name": Shun-tsung 順宗.

[50] *buyantu* mo. "virtuous" is the Mongolian epithet and his name was Ayuri Baribada. Cf. *Yüan-shih* 24.1a4–26.20b6.

[51] Also: Ming-tsung 明宗. According to *Yüan-shih* (31. 1a4–10a10) he was the son of Wu-tsung 武宗, the brother of Ayuri Baribada.

[52] *Jayağatu* mo. "fortunate". Epithet in Mongolian.

[53] *uqağantu* mo. "intelligent", Toğun-temür's Mongolian epithet. He is also referred to as Shun-ti 順帝. The last of the Yüan emperors.

[54] *jinung* from Ch. chün-wang 郡王, originally a princely title, but later used in Mongolian with the meaning "commander-in-chief", "marshal".

[55] Barsbolud was the third son of Dayan qan (1466–1504) Batu-möngke, the son of Bayan-möngke, whom we do not find in the author's genealogy. There are other *lacunae* which will be discussed below.

[56] Barsbolud's second son. One of the powerful khans after the Yüan period (1507–1582). *gegen* mo. "enlightened", usually used for religious greats. Altan qan was the greatest patron of Buddhism, hence this epithet. *dai yüwan* Ch. ta yüan 大元 "great Yüan".

The one and only wife of this Wang *noyan*, the Lady Mayušaka, gave birth to eight sons. The eldest son was Gülaransa (1820–1851).[58] The second son was Südandani. The third son was Müniyašu. The fourth son was Müniluka. The fifth son was Güngnacüka (1832–1866). [59] The sixth son was Süngwaidanjung (1834–1898). The seventh son was Injannasi and the eighth son was Lügüngjüngnai. Among these eight brothers, four of them grew up to manhood. They were the eldest brother the *tusalağci taiji* Gülaransa, the fifth brother, the *taiji* Güngnacüka, the sixth brother, the *Tusalağci taiji in charge of the Seal*,[60] Süngwaidanjung, and the seventh brother, *taiji* Injannasi. The reason that I, *taiji* Injannasi, to whom a second son was born when he was twenty-nine years old, began the compilation of this book at the age of thirty-four, is as follows:

From the Ch'ên-t'ien ch'i-yün shên-wu huang-ti 承天啟運聖武皇帝, the Heavenly Ancestor Founding Emperor Temüjin, the August Martial Emperor who founded the Dynasty by the Will of Heaven down to *taji* Injannasi myself it has been twenty-eight generations.

I, *taiji* Injannasi, ever since I began to notice things of this world, have often reflected about myself. For example, in this Great Ch'ing Empire of ours, the one and only Son-of-Heaven reigns over the Four Oceans and rules the myriads with law and majesty, and the myriads serve one universal lord. The Son-of-Heaven selects and chooses intelligent and talented ones from among his subjects, according to their education and promotes them according to their talent and abilities. He employs them in the capacity of administrators

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[57] More correctly Güngjisjab.

There are apparent *lacunae* in the author's genealogy. The author clearly states that he was the twenty-eighth generation beginning from Cinggis, yet we only count twenty-six in the text. As mentioned in fn. 56 above Batu-möngke, the famed Dayan qan should precede Barsbolud. Also the name of Ombu-cükür (d. 1639) who was the youngest son of Qaltu *noyan* was not to be found. If we add these two names, it will make twenty-eight generations including Injannasi. The historical material concerning the post-Yüan period is extremely confused and it is difficult to reconcile various sources. For a more detailed discussion see Henry Serruys, *Genealogical Tables of the Descendants of Dayan-Qan*.

[58] See Ch. II, p. 12.

[59] See Ch. II, p. 13.

[60] Cinggis was posthumously canonized *Shêng-wu huang-ti* in 1266, and was additionally canonized *Fa-t'ien ch'i-yün shêng-wu huang-ti* in 1309. See *Yüan-shih* 1.23b3–5.

of Chou (Region), Hsien (County), Fu (Prefecture) and Tao (District). [22] If they possess great talent and learning, they can be promoted to the position of Prime Minister and Grand Secretary, where he will serve under only one man but over myriads. He lets one man administer ten thousand realms. In this way no sages or great intellects of humanity which thrive under the beams of the sun and moon and live under the principles of Yang and Ying will be neglected or hidden. This is the truly all-encompassing love of the Way of the Kings in which not a shred of bias exists and the lord looks upon his myriad subjects as compassionately as do mothers on their infants. But, alas, there exist certain peculiar facts contrary to this principle. If I point this out, I believe those sagacious readers will not be helped but be saddened by it. Why? This world of ours is formed by the principle of Yang and Ying. Wherever the atmosphere of Yang and Ying exists, there humans and living beings will thrive. Once a human is born he possesses knowledge and intellect. As long as the knowledge exists, there will be the difference of great and small, deep and shallow.

But then, in this Great Ch'ing Empire, regarding those Moslems who submitted to the empire later than the Mongols did, and who did not contribute to the founding of the dynasty as the Mongols did, care is being taken so as not to let the learned among them be neglected by selecting from among them, according to their schooling, persons to employ in ministerial positions. Why are Mongols alone singled out and excluded from this examination system? Therefore, I tried to reason to myself as follows: [23] Is it because the Mongols are so uncouth and stupid that they never will be able to pass the examination, so that no examination system is necessary for them? But, during the time of Yüan dynasty, they produced illustrious emperors and ruled the world for 162 years. If we were to reason that all Mongols are ignoramuses except the emperors, it was under the Emperor Qubilai that the Great Confucius received the exalted honor of Ta Ch'êng Chih Shên 大成至聖. That is "Holiest Sage of Supreme Achievement". Whereas the other dynasties only conferred honors such as "duke" or "prince". Therefore, because the Shih-tsu Qubilai Secen Qağan patronized education and the scholars of the world, such learned sholars as Chang Teh-hui, the minister of the Chung-shu Shêng (Grand Secretariat) and others were completely devoted to the Emperor and respectfully honored the Shih-tsu qağan as the Master T'ai-tsung of the School of Ju (Confucianism). Furthermore, there came to be such learned scholars among the Mongol ministers as Sodu, Bayan, Moqur and others, who entered public life by learning with great diligence. Their distinguished works in verse and prose, essays and compilations, etc. are preserved to this day in the Yüan Chien Lei Han 淵鑑類函.[61] Does this not prove that not all Mongols are ignoramuses? On the other hand, let us suppose it was true that Tu Shou-t'ien design on their bodies and wear belts of white jade around their waists. Around their necks hang rosaries made of turquoise and coral, over their shoulders they throw mantles of sable and fox skins. All kinds of expensive precious stones decorate the front and back of their garments; glittering gold and pearl rings decorate their hands and feet. When they deign to depart, several hundred handsome servants, and impressive retainers accompany their bejeweled carriages and flying-wagons and make spectacles in the public streets. [27] When they deign to come home, beautiful maidens and attractive concubines by the dozens pile on their perfumed beds inside the brocade curtains. Their abodes are the palace of Indra,[72] their resting places are the lotus lake of the Western paradise.[73] When they dine, they partake of the best of the seven delicacies; and when they sleep, they take delight in the ten blackest sins. If you observe them, they are as illuminating and lustrous as gods and angels, but if you speak about their taste, they are as stinking as the breath of demons unbearably smelly. There exist living being such as these. What are they for?" I begged this learned scholar to enlighten me.

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[61] One of the great encyclopaedias compiled during K'ang Hsi period by Imperial command by Chang Ying 張英 et al. 450 chüan + index 4 chüans.

The learned scholar replied: "The ancestors of these beings rendered invaluable services at the time of the founding of our great empire. Therefore, they were either the Imperial sons-in-law or royal blood relations, military greats or descendants of royal princes, or imperial dukes. Because of their great wealth, they do not know what to do with their wealth. So they live like that. But one day, when their powers decline and their wealth is exhausted, they will really turn themselves into something which is nothing. As long as their power and wealth last, they are creatures given to enjoyments of earthly pleasures".

I pursued my inquiry further. I said: "Actually, I am referring to those among the Mongols who are outside of the Great Wall and occupying an immense area between the Russian Empire in the north, Kirin in the east and westward to Köke-nuur. The Inner Six Confederations and the Outer Four Khalkhas, Köke-nuur, Chahar, [28] Bargu, Ögeled, Dörbed, Ili, Khobdo, five thousand *li*'s wide and 10,000 *li*'s long. In this great expanse, there are numerous ones of these things I described; I, too, am a member of this caste. It is extremely difficult for me to comprehend them, being an insider."

The learned master answered: "Some of their ancestors also rendered great service to the throne, some of them possess territories and estates. First comes the *wangs* (princes of first and second ranks), *beiles* (prince of third rank), *beises* (prince of fourth rank), *güngs* (duke) and ruling princes; second in rank are the *taijis* and *tabunangs* of the third and fourth ranks. Their ancestors rendered military service, therefore now they are granted the empty titles of *wang*, *beile*, *beise* and *güng*, and are given silver and silks in order to buy their loyal service." Now I finally knew. But I still did not quite understand some things. "For example, these so-called *taijis* and *tabunangs*, they all have the rank of the fourth grade. Suppose one among them is well to do and has a full belly, he can take any number of wives; and if he has a hundred sons, all of these will wear the "rank-buttons" of the fourth grade. Just what did they do to earn this privilege?" I pursued my questions further.

The learned master replied: "It was not because of what they did themselves, but because their ancestors were great rulers and it was established as a permanent institution." Now I was completely lost, and pursued these questions: [29] "Who were these great rulers? How did they become great rulers? How were they able to make their descendants like this?". The learned master answered: "The ancestor of these *taijis* was the Founding Emperor Cinggis Qagan of the Great Yüan dynasty of yore." I asked: "Is this Great Qagan still on his Imperial throne?". "No! It has been six hundred years since he died." "Well, if he is dead and buried, does that not end the matter? But why all these *taijis* of over two hundred banners? What use is it to the Emperor of this present dynasty?" "No use whatsoever!" he acknowledged. "If they are a useless lot, why not make them commoners and have them serve the empire, instead of feeding them for doing nothing?" "Oh no! It cannot be done!" said the learned one. When I asked why was this so, he said: "They are the descendants of the Emperor of the Great Yüan dynasty. How could one dare to make them commoners! The tradition established by the August Cinggis must not be violated by the emperors of this present dynasty." I asked: "What are the relations between the August Cinggis and the Emperor of this dynasty?" "No relations whatsoever," was the answer. "Then why must he follow this tradition?" I asked. The learned one answered: "First, the Emperor, the Son-of-Heaven, will not destroy the established tradition of others. Secondly, since the *taijis* have multiplied in such great numbers, it would not be wise to suppress them suddenly, thereby losing their loyalty." [30] I asked: "Where is the Yüan dynasty now?" "It was overthrown long ago," he replied. I asked: "Who overthrew them?" "The Founding Emperor Chu Hung-wu of the Ming dynasty who seized the Imperial Throne from the Mongols, and drove the Mongols back to their homeland in the North," was the answer. I asked again: "Where is this Chu Hung-wu of the Ming dynasty now?" The learned one replied: "It has been five hundred years since he died." I asked: "Did not then Chu Hung-wu have any descendants?" The learned one answered: "Oh, his descendants ruled as emperors for almost three hundred years." I asked: "Why then did he not make his descendants *taijis*?" The learned one replied: "He was not able to do that." I asked: "Why was the founder of the Yüan able to make his descendants *taijis*, while the founder of the Ming was not able to do that?" The learned one answered: "First of all, the founder of the Ming usurped the throne of his liege lord. Second, he is a son of a slave, a slave of a slave to a Mongol house. Third, he was a wretch who slept in the beds of monks.

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[72] From Sanskrit. mo. *sudarasun* palace of Indra, the lord of the thirty-three "tngri" (Sanskrit *deva*. Denizen of Heaven).

[73] mo. *sükewadi* from Sanskrit sukhavati, the Western paradise presided over by the Buddha Abhida.

Whereas the founder of the Yüan dynasty was from the very beginning born a Son-of-Heaven with imperial lineage. He was of royal origin and conceived by the illustrious White Spirit and was an incarnate deity. How can one compare him with the likes of Chu Hung-wu?" Now I was completely perplexed. While both of them were emperors, how could one be a god from heaven and the other a lowly ruffian? What was it that made this Cinggis Qagan so high and mighty? I had to pursue this question relentlessly.

By this time, our learned one having been importuned at my endless questions, suddenly flared up in rage. [31] Shaking his finger at me he shouted at me: "You blabbering pest! How do you expect me to relate the countless events of the fourteen Qagans of the Yüan dynasty for a total of 162 years, and the seventeen rulers of the Ming dynasty for 278 years one by one? What happened to the five wagon-loads of books your late father the prince *tusalağci* had? Why do you pester others with your endless stupid questions? You have two bulging eyes, yet you do not read the books and history of your own people, and do not know your origin and ancestry. A man who knows not his origin is an animal. One who has eyes but who does not read history is a mole. One who has intelligence yet who does not know his origin is a hog. A *taiji* who does not know his ancestry is a beast!" Thus saying he poked his finger into my eye and spat in my face and scolded me: "You have a ceiling-high collection of books of your princely *tusalağci* father right in your own home. Why do you loaf around the neighbors and pester others with your rigmarole?" Having said thus, he spat at me, uttered "Fie!" in disgust, shook off his sleeves and was gone. He had really ground me down with insults and beaten me to a pulp. Only then did I realize that, though I was born a human being, I did not have any knowledge of my ancestry. I was greatly ashamed and humiliated. I was shocked and depressed. Thereupon, as soon as I returned home, I climbed up to the library and began to scan the four-language library collected by my late learned father and picked out ten works on history, [32] biography, epics and tales related to the history of the great Yüan dynasty. Among them were Chinese compilations, Manchu and Mongol works, and translations of Tibetan and Uigur treatises. There were many cases and books, manuscripts and notes, sheets and lists. I picked out the following works:

Manduğsan törü-yin köke sudur (The Blue Chronicle of the Risen Dynasty)[74]
Cidaqci-yin erketü qad-un ündüsü (The Descent of the Mighty Kings)[75]

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[74] This appears to be the abbreviated title of YYUMTKS, i. e. the manuscript of the eight chapters begun by his father Wangcinbala which might have had the shorter title *Manduğsan törü-yin köke sudur*.

[75] *Cidağci erketü* "Able Mighty" is the epithet used for Buddha Sakyamuni. *Qad-un ündüsü* "Origins of Kings" occurs as part of the titles of both the well known Mongolian chronicles *Altan tobci* (Erten-ü qad-un ündüsülegsen törü yosun-u jokiyal-i tobcilan quriyağsan altan tobci); and *Erdeni-yin tobci* (Qad-un ündüsün-ü erdeni-yin tobci). The author did quote from both these works, but failed to include them among his ten sources given here. This work has yet to be identified.

Köke monggol-un cidağci-yin cedig (Genealogy of the Able One of the Blue Mongols)[76]
Altan ürestü-yin döte (*sic*) *teüke* (A Brief History of the Golden Descendants)[77]
Dalai blam-a-yin jalağus-un qurim (The Feast of Youth by the Dalai Lama)[78]
Altan uruğtan-u sedkil-ün cenggel (Heart's Joy of Those of the Golden Clan)[79]
Cinggis qağan-u sula sastir (The Saga of Chingis Khan)[80]
Boğda cinggis-ün orcilang-un kelelcege (The Sayings of Holy Chingis)[81]
Yeke yüwan ulush-un töb-ün sudur (The Standard History of the Great Yüan Dynasty)[82]
Jüzi tüng jiyan gang mü-yin yeke sudur (Chu-hsi's T'ung-chien kang-mu)[83]

In compiling this work, my brother, the *tusalağci* Süngwaidanjüng, translated the great *Kang-mu*, and I, Injannasi collated many source books. With perseverance, we carried out the work of compiling this YYUMTKS, perfecting it without any doubtful point and made this copy. This task truly taxed the strength of my mind and soul and exhausted my body, my eyes and hands.

To seek the truth of a thousand years
from the pen and ink,
To discuss the deeds and acts
with chronicles and books;
Will the sages and learned of the future
pity my aims and efforts,
Know and sympathize with the weariness
of my body and soul?

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[76] *cidağci* here appears to refer to Cinggis. This title might be a variant title for the work known as *Cinggis Qağan-u cadiğ*, a collection containing the *Altan tobci* (the first 126 pages out of 196 pages) first published in Peking, 1925 (*See*: C. R. Bawden, *The Mongol Chronicle Altan Tobci*, p. 2.).

[77] Note that the Mongolian chronicle *Altan kürdün mingğan gegesütü bicig* by Siregetü Guosi Dharma (1739) bears the complete title: *Altan uruğtan-u toda teüke, altan yasutan-u sedkil-ün cinggel, altan kürdün mingğan gegesütü bicig*. There is little room for doubt that *Altan ürestü-yin döte teüke* is *Altan uruğtan-u toda teüke* and *Altan uruğtan-u sedkil-un cenggel* is *Altan yasutan-u sedkil-un cinggel*. In fact the author refers to a work *Alta* (*sic*) *kürdütü tödü* (*sic*) *teüke* in Vol. III, p. 1665:6. It is interesting to note that according to this listing of 10 source books, Injannasi treats the first two titles of the AKMG as two different works.

[78] This is a work attributed to the fifth Dalai Lama Agvan Lubsan Jamtso (1617–1682). For a discussion of this work see Heissig, *Die Familien- und* . . . I. pp. 79–94.

[79] See fn. 77 above.

[80/81] No such works have come down to us.

[82] This we assume to be the Yüan shih 元史, by Sung Lien 宋濂 and others, 1369, 210 volumes.

[83] See fn. 16 on p. 13 Injannasi's prime Chinese historical source.

[33] THE BLUE CHRONICLE OF THE RISE OF THE GREAT YÜAN DYNASTY

A SET OF EXPLANATORY REMARKS

PART FOUR OF THE TOBCITU TOLTA

Those men of letters who read this Blue Chronicle of the Great Yüan Dynasty should first carefully read the *Tobcitu-tolta* which explains the method of this book. The reading of a book originates in the desire of the reader to fully comprehend the content. That is the time to scrutinize all the materials in the front and back of the book, and to read carefully all its introduction and commentary, its poetry and summary. But not so for some readers! These readers simply choose to read only the stories and ignore all the rest, no matter whether the materials contain profound thoughts or entertaining accounts, or the introduction and commentary and the verses are of high literary quality. This is not reading a book, but destroying it!

One must particularly not compare this book with the embellished novels of the Han, Chin, T'ang and Sung periods. These light literatures were the products of those literati who based themselves on a grain of historical fact but added hundreds of details and new turns and twists out of their own imaginations. They embellished the obscure facts with hundreds and thousands of fictitious details and made them entertaining in order to show off their talent and to expound their ideas to posterity. Not so with this chronicle! This chronicle includes the events of thirty to forty years preceding the one hundred sixty-two years of the Yüan dynasty, which amounts [34] to an account of a total of two hundred years. It would be impossible even to include one-tenth of the true accounts. How could one then add to or embellish it? Why is this so? Because our period coincides with the decline and the end of the Southern Sung (1127–1280). The world was divided and the four corners of the earth were in turmoil. Khans ascended thrones in all directions, and kingdoms and realms came into being one after another. In the realm of the Middle Kingdom, there were such great empires as the Sung Empire followed by the former Liao Empire (907–1125), also the Chin (1115–1234) and the Hsia Empire, the Kidan Empire, the Korean Empire, the Hsi-yü Empire,[84] the Hsi-ch'iang Empire,[85] the Hui-ho Empire,[86] the Hui-hui Empire,[87] the Indian Empire and the Mu-lu Empire.[88] They all contributed to the upheaval of the Middle Kingdom and caused the unrest of the four corners of the world. In the northern land, there was the Ta-tan Empire[89] which was originally the Bête Nation of our Mongolia. Because the Chinese could not pronounce [the name Bête] they called [it] Ta-tan. Beginning with the Bête Nation, there were the Bête Nation, the Kereid Nation, Naiman Nation, Solungğud Nation, Ğorlus Nation, Jarud Nation, Jürcid Nation, Sarlağ Nation, Sartağul Nation,[90] Toğmağ Nation,[91] Qarliğud Nation, Saljiğud Nation, Ğorlud Nation, Enggüd Nation, Taiciğud Nation, Laiqad Nation, Merged Nation, Qonggirad Nation. All these eighteen nations were ruled by qans, each with armies of several tens of thousands. *Bête ulus* is an ancient term, [35] in present day language it means precisely *biden-ü ulus* (Our country). Beside these, there were seventy-five small tribes, which will be enumerated elsewhere. These are the names of nations in the south and north not far from each other. Beyond these, in lands of much greater distance than several tens of thousands of *li*'s there were many foreign lands. From Tibet, Tangğud, Nepal, India and hither there were great nations such as Uiğur, Russia, Orud, Ocungğ-a, Ögeled, Qotungğud, Torğud, Bidegüd, Qasağ, Bürüd, Rom, Gürq-a, Iltesi, Waila, Küngkür, Coruğ, etc. Beyond these, there were strange nations of different physical appearance, such as: Maiden Nation, One-footed nation, One-eyed nation, Hole-bellied nation, Dog-headed nation, Midget nation, Ghost nation, Flatbodied nation, Long-legged nation, Horse-faced nation. Among all these nations, August Cinggis distinguished himself; from the age of thirteen until he was sixty-six years old, for a total of fifty-three years, he campaigned in the four directions. Even those above-mentioned countries with strange physiques were conquered by his august person at the head of our army. If one should record every one of these great feats chronologically, even if it does not exceed the size of the *Tanjur*[92] it will match the *Kanjur*[93]. To make an abridged summary [of these facts] will make several large sets; besides one cannot make a simple abridgement without presenting essential facts. [36] This is why this chronicle cannot be compared with the Chinese novels of the Han, Chin, T'ang and Sung periods These books treat only one or two subjects and they are very simple compared to this [chronicle] and very entertaining. Not so with the August Cinggis in this book. He conquered most of these places, as far as heard by human ear and reached by feet of horses. Therefore the facts were numerous and it would be impossible for anyone to elaborate on them. One cannot even hope to relate only those which are true. Hence the statement that this book was not able to present even one tenth of the true facts. It was for this reason in this chronicle that the summary terms "Four-colored Peoples"[94] and the "Five Alien Nations"[95] were used to designate all territorial possessions, near and far.

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[84] Ch. *hsi-yü* 西域 "Western Region" a general term for the countries bordering on Western China. Hence this term was used to describe geographical areas including as far as Persia.

[85] Ch. *hsi-ch'iang* 西羌 The western Ch'iang tribes.

[86] Ch. *hui-ho* 回紇 The Uigurs. A member of a Turkic people ruling in Mongolia and Turkestan from the 8th to 12th century.

[87] *Hui-hui* 回回 is the general Chinese term for Moslems and Moslem countries.

[88] Perhaps for Merv. I was not able to identify the original Chinese characters.

[89] Ch. *Ta-tan* 韃靼 Originally believed to be the Chinese phonetic rendering of *Tatar*. Later it came to be the Chinese term for the Mongols.

[90] Mongolian term for the Khwarezmians and Moslems of Central Asia including Turks and Iranians.

[91] Mongolian term for the Kipchaks.

[92] Commentaries on the *Kanjur* (See fn. below), 225 volumes.

[93] The *Kanjur* is the great Tibetan Buddhist Encyclopaedia translated into Mongolian during 17th century; it consists of 108 volumes.

The Four-colored Peoples are first, the northern Bête nation which subjugated twelve great states and seventy-five lesser peoples, and was respected by all. Since the blue color is the heavenly color and stands first among colors,[96] it was used to designate the color of the Mongol nation. In the east there is the *Solungğ-a ulus.* Solungg-a is the name for Korea. The Solungg-a, Solunggud, Sorbin, Biliged people all wear white clothing. Therefore, they were all referred to as the white nation. In the south there are the Chinese who occupy the Middle Kingdom which is a hot region related to the element of fire, hence it was designed as the red nation. [37] In the west, there exist the Tibetans, Tangguds, Qotungs (Moslems) and the Uigurs. These people's hearts are black and their facial complexions too are extremely dark and they are inclusively referred to as the western black people. These are the four peoples in the four directions, designated by four different colors. The Five Alien Nations are so divided because their appearances are very different. In the east and south, there are India, Nepal, Corun and Rum; they are one alien group. In the west are the Sarlağs, Sartağuls, Qasağs and Bürüds, they are the second aliens. Directly north are the Russians, Togmags, Iltesi and Jürkin; these are referred to as the third alien nation. In the northeast there are the Maiden nation, the Dogheaded nation, the Hole-bellied nation, and the One-eyed nation; these are referred to as the fourth alien nation. In the southeast, there are the One-legged nation, the Flat-bodied nation, the Horse-faced nation, and these are referred to as the fifth alien nation. These nations were referred to in old Mongolian chronicles as the "*tabun qari kiliged tasiğ ulus*". *Kiliged tasiğ* is a very old word and means in the language of our day, nations of different and strange constitutions. The August Cinggis conquered most of these people or made them submit with tribute. Now, if one is to record all of these affairs, even to summarize them in outline, it will take several hundred chapters. Therefore, there are many chronicles, biographies and legends concerning this August Cinggis which were written in Uigur, Tibetan, [38] Chinese, Mongolian and Manchu. But these works are not uniform. In some, a certain decree or command (of the Emperor) was recorded in several hundred pages; in some the events of several months were recorded in a few lines; this made it very difficult to understand. On the other hand, in such works as the Chinese *Tzŭ chih t'ung chien kang-mu*, the events preceding the ascending of the throne by the August Cinggis when he was forty-five years old, when the altar was built at the mouth of the Mong River, were simply ignored completely. This work only records the events of the ascension to the throne and of some important events up to the end of the Yüan dynasty. But then, because the compilers of these works were the historians of the Sung and Ming dynasties, and because these Chinese, who cannot forego their pettiness of an evil woman, intentionally vilified the Mongols. They tried their best to find fault, full of thorny remarks and insinuations. Even if they wanted to ignore the whole Mongolian period, they were unable to do so because it was state history. This was no more than the petty jealousy and the hatred they harbored for being subjugated to the Mongols for 162 years. Since they could not defeat the Mongols by military might, they could at least vilify the Mongols in the future. But this is not so in the standard history where they were treated like the military campaigns of other dynasties. [39] The name Mongol is written in Chinese as mêng-ku 蒙古. These two characters signify a people which preserved its ancient ways. This was devised by Chu Hsi-chih (1130–1200), the author of the *Chu tzŭ t'ung chien kang-mu*; therefore, he was considered an unbiased scholar. Excluding him, the others when writing the names of Mongols, because they had to spell them out phonetically in separate characters they made such a jumble of them, that some even cannot be reconstructed into Mongolian. Some were simply incomprehensible. When I encountered such an instance, I then had to check all ten sources. In some I find a certain similarity, and some simply do not concur at all. Furthermore, as the Yüan history was originally translated into Chinese from Uigur script, which was later translated into Mongolian and Manchu, all the geographical terms and the names of ministers and generals were corrupted and became extremely difficult to comprehend. It will be extremely difficult for those future savants to refer to all these ten sources, therefore, I, Taiji Injannasi have collated the ten sources and sought out all those passages which were missing and restored them to completion in order to facilitate those readers who wish to find out the history of the Mongols. However, because the [40] events are so numerous, personal names are so many, geographical terms are so profuse, and the nations and tribes are so plentiful, though I have found that all the Mongolian equivalents for the Mongolian names occur in the *Kang-mu*, I have retained the original Chinese spelling with Manchu letters in monosyllabic notation. This is because they occur in the Chinese *Kang-mu* in phonetic rendering in monosyllabic Chinese characters, and as those who discuss Mongolian history must invariably refer to this *Kang-mu*, they will not understand unless you use their system. Therefore I have listed these names in the beginning in monosyllabic notation. Those names for which I was not able to find the correct Mongolian forms, I did not dare to alter the original form. For these reasons those who wish to learn the truth must be patient and diligent in reading this work. If one only seek excitement and amusement, he will be disappointed.

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[94] Mo. *dörben öngge-yin öbür-ün ulus* "Four-colored Own Peoples". Other Mongolian historical works such as the *Altan tobci* (Bawden, p. 45) and *Erdeni-yin tobci* (Haenisch, p. 137) and other works have *tabun öngge* and *dörben qari*, i. e. "Five colored people" and "Four Alien Nations". These phrases have been used by Mongolian historians rather vaguely to designate nations and peoples of the world. Blue is the color for Mongols, red for Chinese and black for Tibetans, white is the color for the Koreans, because they wear white, yellow is the color for the Central Asian Moslems. These are the traditions for color designation. Injannasi as we see differs from the traditional interpretation of these concepts and offers his own interpretation.

[95] Mo. *tabun qari busu aimağtan* "Five Alien Other Nations". Traditionally *dörben qari* "Four Alien Nations or Four Foreign Lands". Originally a vague designation of foreign countries in four directions. See footnote above.

[96] In the Mongolian chronology which is based on the ancient Central Asian twelve-year cycle, ten colors were prefixed to complete the sixty year cycle. Five basic colors are used for this. They are in the following order: Köke, kökeğcin; ulağan, ulağağcin; sir-a, sirağcin; cağan, cağağcin; qar-a, qarağcin.

It should be noted that in this work, there are a number of instances where miracles and supernatural occurrences were recorded, such as the realization of the words of the Son-of-Heaven and divine personages and the miracles in which certain persons of great deeds when encountering danger were rescued by the miracle of deities and gods. There is also a certain amount of doubtful occurrences of magic and sorcery, which cannot be proven and seem incredulous. [41] There were three reasons why I did not ignore these facts completely. First, these supernatural occurrences were recorded in the original sources and it is not for me to cut them out completely. Second, it is a fact these did not happen only during the Yüan period. Ever since ancient times, they were being recorded. Even the teachings of the Master Confucius have never denied outright the existence of gods and spirits. On the other hand, the teaching tells us to faithfully believe that there are gods when one worships. Furthermore, such unexplainable happenings involving gods and spirits have occurred ever since the times of Shang and Chou and the Warring States (403–221 B.C.) down to these days. Third, not only did gods and spirits help in the founding and rising of an empire, even sovereigns at the time of their decline were also accompanied by various supernatural happenings and portents.

For example, the famed Holy Kuan,[97] sworn brother of Han Chung Wang 漢中王[98] of the Han 漢 State became a god who protected all nations which stood in justice regardless of their being destined to rise or decline. Further, during the time of the Sung, Wen-ch'ang Ti'chün 文昌帝君 (the God of Literature) ascended to heaven, while myriads were watching, in his own flesh and body with his wife and family, servants and domestic animals.

[42] These are not the fabrication of Taiji Injannasi, but attested in the scriptures of Wen-ch'ang Ti'chün and in his book of divination, and the authenticity of these can be investigated by learned ones. These are true and explicit examples of the miracles of Gods and Spirits. It is for this reason I cannot say positively that there is no truth in these matters. If there exists God in this world, so there shall be ghosts and spirits. Therefore the state offers sacrifice to the Five Mandals and the Eight Temples. These were the heritage of the Holy Kings and they could not be fraudulent.

The so-called Five Mandals are the following: the Altar to Heaven, the Altar to Earth, the Altar to Sun, the Altar to Moon, and the Altar to Agriculture. These are referred to in Chinese as Wu-t'an 五壇 (five altars). The Eight Temples are the Buddha's Temple, the Confucian Temple, the Temple of the Lord-on-High, the Temple of the King of Hell, the Temple of the Gods.[99] These show one cannot be rid of gods and spirits all together.

Although I have heard many times in Buddhistic teachings about such things as manipulation of rain and wind, clouds and fog, and for the waters of river and sea to recede, I did not seriously believe in these. It was during one of my visits to my first father-in-law, Prince Sebegdorji of Kharachin, that I came across a set of four volumes of the *Encyclopaedia of Astronomy* (T'ien-wen ta-ch'üan) which I found among the books displayed as decoration. I found (in this book) there such descriptions as: At such and such a time of the day and month and year of [43] such and such a dynasty, there rained the seven jewels,[100] or the five elements[101] or it rained flowers; or at the time of such and such a tyrannical king, flesh and blood came down as rain or it rained human bone and marrow or tendons. At one side was given the dates and facts and on the other side illustrations descriptive of them were given and were published by Imperial edict. Therefore, it is not only this *Köke sudur* which will talk about such things – they are recorded in other histories too. Therefore, I too record these supernatural happenings according to the other chronicles and record the strange and fantastic magical bouts, supernatural signs and portents and the protection and care of heaven and the gods, and assistance and aid offered by the spirits, and I dare not exclude these events. The readers of this work will judge the truth or faults of these according to their own intelligence and conscience. I, Taiji Injannasi, since I was born, never believed in such matters of which there is no proof nor matters which are not in congruence with logic and laws [of nature]. I thought then to get rid of matters of gods and demons and strange magic and sorcery of such happenings as in the Book of Western Han[102] from this *Köke sudur.* However, later as I thought about these more carefully, [44] even the *Kang-mu*, which recordss only one tenth of the true happenings of this world, has chosen to record on its pages the marvelous happenings of the miracle of water receding in the sea when the Mongol troops campaigned in the south, and later when the Mongols were driven back, the appearance of a bronze bridge. It also record when, during the time of the founding of the dynasty, a unicorn appeared in front of the Emperor; also the iron deer which appeared in front of the Chinese General Ch'ang Yü-ch'un[103] and intervened on behalf of the fleeing descendants of Hsien-tsung, Shun-ti qağan. Therefore, my work simply consists of interpreting the ancient words into our modern language and makes them easier to understand by general readers, and it is not my intention to delete or add any materials. Therefore, I simply followed my father and recorded all the thunder and lightening, wind and rain, light and rainbow, hail and frost, and the doings of gods and spirits, of deities and demons with all their marvels, miracles and witchcraft and sorcery, just as they were written originally. I hope the future readers of this work will not think of me as they do of mendacious lamas. I did not have much choice in this matter. For this reason I put forth this explanation for the future generations. I beg your indulgence.

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[97] Kuan Yü 關羽 One of the heros of the "Three Kingdoms", canonized as the God of War. Much worshipped by Chinese populace. Later he came to be worshipped in the Lama Buddhist temples also.

[98] King of Han-chung, i. e. Liu Pei 劉備 the King of the State of Shu 蜀 of the Three Kingdoms.

[99] Apparently the copyist inadvertantly omitted three names of the temples here. This can be emended by comparing the TM. The names of the Eight Temples are listed on p. 111 (Heissig, Book XV, p. 109) as follows: Burqad-un süm-e (Temples of Buddhas), Qormusta-yin süm-e (Temples of the Lord-on-High), Odud-un süm-e (Temples of Constellations), Boğdas-un süm-e (Temples of Sages), Qubilğad-un süm-e (Temples of Gods), Sakiğulsun-u süm-e (Temples of Guardians), Ejid-ün süm-e (Temples of Lords), Qad-un süm-e (Temples of Kings).

[100] The seven jewels are: gold, silver, crystal, ruby, coral, agate, and carnelian.

[101] Ch. *wu-hsing* 五行, mo. *tabun maqabud*, "the five elements", metal, wood, water, fire and earth.

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[102] Hsi-han shu 西漢書 (The Book of Western Han).

[103] Ch'ang Yü-ch'un 常遇春 (d. 1369).

[45] THE BLUE CHRONICLE OF THE RISE OF THE GREAT YÜAN DYNASTY

A SET OF EXPLANATORY REMARKS

PART FIVE OF THE TOBCITU TOLTA

I, Taiji Injannasi, since I was born into this world as a human being and until I reached the age of thirty-four, have observed that there is an innumerable quantity of wise and sagacious ones who heedlessly waste their years and months and their days and hours. Methinks, although the humans in this world from the Son-of-Heaven on down to vagrants are all equal men, yet some were said to have found happiness and others were said to be suffering. Those who found happiness are rich and powerful ones, and those who are suffering are have-nots and poor ones. This is the accepted nature of things. Nonetheless, there are among these not a few who are rich and powerful but unhappy; and there are have-nots who have found happiness. In general, those early sovereigns who lost their reigns, those rulers who founded dynasties, and those magnates who amassed great wealth, and those who were avaricious in worldly goods suffered for the most part. But those great masters who established learning, and those wise ones who achieved great learning, and those common people who were satisfied in their desires, and those intelligent ones who forsook desire all found happiness. Therefore, the roots of happiness and unhappiness lay deep in the human mind. Obtuse though I am, I have long observed that during the dog-days of hot summer, the farmers scorch their bare backs in the scorching red sun until their backs blister and fester, but when the sun goes down and when they finish their daily toil, they begin to enjoy a slight breeze on their way home. [46] They come home in groups of ten and twenty singing at the top of their lungs, laughing and frolicking and not displaying the slightest bit of weariness at the heat awaiting them the next day; this is one thing. Again, I have observed that in the capital city, during the coldest winter months, one can see wretched naked beggars with frost-bitten flesh cracking open and shaking with cold. Yet some of them, when they obtain enough coins and food, will join their friends and sit in a sunny, sheltered area to enjoy their food and drink. They discuss all sorts of things in a loud voice, pointing with their fingers, they speak with their mouths quoting such sagacious sayings as "As the grass is green for one autumn, men live one generation." "If one can enjoy a day's repose, he will gain one day's merit", etc. They consider this happiness, and forget that they will freeze to death this same night. Also, some Imperial in-laws, royal relatives and princes and dukes, those who have reached the heights of richness and power, harbor on the other hand grievances and hatred, become avaricious in worldly possessions, or else rely on their wealth and power, toady to those who are above them and oppress those who are below them. Such people could never be cheerful and happy. These people then, were not happy. Alas, how it is difficult to comprehend! Some people turn their happiness into grievance and unhappiness, and look for anger and trouble; some people turn their rueful unhappiness into cheer and laughter. Both of these have perhaps gone too far. It is difficult to make a virtue out of accepting suffering as happiness. It is also inappropriate to devote oneself excessively to material happiness. [47] Consequently, there are two types of persons who do not care either for happiness or for suffering. They are either extremely learned and erudite, or else they are completely ignorant. Both categories have representations. Both wise and fools coexist in this world. Therefore, when we talk about wise ones, there are hundred [kinds of] wise ones, and there are hundred [kinds of] fools among the fools. In other words, if smartness goes past due limits it becomes foolishness. For example, the Founding Emperor, the Shih-huang 始皇 of the Ch'in (221–209 B.C.) of yore wanted to rule his empire until the end of the world, and sought for an elixir of life. This is an example of being over-wise and a case in which a passion for living reached its limits when he sought after something that even a fool knows to be in vain. These are the fools among the wise. The irony of it was that he did not even live to be forty. On the other hand, the notorious lewd licentious woman Wu Tse-t'ien of the T'ang dynasty,[104] though she was frivolous, reigned over Middle Kingdom for twenty-two years in peace and tranquility. Is this not praiseworthy? The use of such a term as "the Emperor-who-follows-the-rule-of-Heaven"[105] [by Wu herself] is of course impudent, yet the concept behind such a term is quite profound. After her, there were two more empresses who came to power in the Liao dynasty, the Old Dowager Empress and the Young Dowager Empress. During the Sung dynasty there was the lady minister Shê T'ai-chün. All of these women were able and wise but none surpassed Wu Tse-t'ien. [48] Empress Wu's name was Chao, she proclaimed herself as "the Golden-wheeled Emperor-who-follows-the-rule-of-Heaven" and changed the dynastic title to Chou. When she usurped the throne, not one of the hundreds of military and civilian officials dared to raise objection. Only Li Ching-yeh[106] raised an army in the outer provinces to rebel against [Empress Wu]. He had Lo Pin-wang[107] compose the proclamation against Empress Wu, in which Lo says of Empress Wu, ". . . since the day she entered the palace, she intrigued in rivalry, her eyebrows arched, she would never yield to others. Hiding her face with her sleeve, she plotted and schemed. Her vixen charm was able to bewitch her

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[104] During the T'ang dynasty (618–907 A. D.) in 683, the Empress Wu usurped the Throne for twenty years. She adopted the dynastic title of Chou 周 in lieu of T'ang until 705.

[105] Tse-t'ien huang-ti 則天皇帝.

[106] The Mongolian text here reads *siüi jing ye*, *siüi* was his original surname which was later changed to Li. Li Ching-yeh 李敬業 rebelled against Empress Wu in Yang Chou 楊州.

[107] Lo Pin-wang 駱賓王 was a poet.

master."[108] When Empress Wu read it, she was delighted and laughingly praised Lo Pin-wang as "A young man of great eloquence". Notwithstanding Empress Wu's great intelligence, her changing of the dynastic title and the usurping of the appellation *huang-ti* (Emperor) shows that her conduct was not beyond the conducts of a shortsighted jealous woman who followed her whims and ambition. Yet her foolishness brought her to the high-point of sagacity. The fact that a woman, who must follow another's will, made herself empress, shows that she possessed a kind of wisdom. This is the so-called great wisdom within great stupidity. Alas, it can be seen from these that it is possible for a wise man to war against his lord and for a lowly person to raise himself. What makes one laugh and be sad is that ever since the *Shih-huang* (Founding Emperor) united the world, every empire followed this law, and they utter the words of Yao and Shun[109] and cloak themselves in their ideology. In fact, is it not that in their heart they are the Shih-huang and Empress Wu, but they display [49] the mien of Yao and Shun? Among all these past empires, only the T'ai-tsu qaγan of the great Yüan dynasty did not follow this path. Does not the fact that he divided his great empire of Four-colored Peoples and Five Alien Lands among his descendants and great generals show clearly that he did follow the paths of the ancient Yao, Shun and Yü, T'ang[110] and Wên, Wu?[111] Although his empire did not last as long as the Chou dynasty founded by King Wên and King Wu, after 710 years Mongols still occupy a corner [of the world], thanks to his goodness. The wise ones among us Mongols should reflect carefully upon this point. How many sovereigns or fathers were able to leave a thousand years heritage for their descendants and kindred people? The very reason that they are even now enjoying a happy life with titles of *wang*, *güng*, *beile*, *beise*, *taiji* and *tabunang* and receiving silk and silver from this great Ch'ing dynasty, is because they had their own national foundation and independent statehood. The Ming dynasty which followed our Mongolian Great Yüan dynasty had a succession of seventeen emperors, and lasted for 278 years. It lasted one and one-half times longer than we Mongols. Furthermore, the Chinese are a prolific race, and they do not make their children monks in order to make them Buddhas like the Mongols do which decreases the population. Yet have you heard that a single descendant of the House of Ming is occupying any corner [50] of the empire or even a territory as big as a fingernail? Those who are careless in thinking, state that the Mongols are fools and will not be able long to rule the world, that the Mings were intelligent and therefore their empire lasted one and one-half times longer than the Mongols. Although the Mings were able to rule the empire 116 years more than the Mongols and were able to enjoy temporary peace, they were not able to ensure their future and secure their foundation. On the other hand, the Yüan dynasty was able to rule the empire for 162 years, and was able to ensure the future prosperity of a thousand years. This is because they were able to develop many empires in all parts of the world. If the Mongols were prudent like those of the present time and tried to rule the whole world under a single authority and imprisoned all the rest of the house of the Emperor, or if the Mongols were over-indulgent in luxuries like the Mings, how could there be Mongols like there are? This our land, north-land Mongolia, is one of the most desolate and desert and barren areas of the world, but it is the best place for shelter and refuge and peaceful life. The present Six Inner Confederations, the Outer Four Khalkha Aimaks, Köke-nuur, Odun tala, Alashan, Külün-buir and Chahar are all the sole inheritance of the August Cinggis qağan's fourth son, Jui-tsung, Lord Toli. Although Lord Toli himself did not reign as emperor, his eldest son Möngke, the Emperor Hsien-tsung (The third Great Khan, 1251–59), and the fourth son Qubilai Secen, Wên-wu Huang-ti, the Emperor Shih-tsu, were both enthroned as [51] emperors. Therefore, Lord Toli was posthumously canonized as Jui-tsung. All these will be presented duly in this chronicle. Alas, since the scholars of present time vary in their character, some of them know intimately the history of such early kings as the Yao, Shun, Yü and T'ang, but they know very little about the facts of their own sovereign parent Yüan dynasty or simply do not care. Some of them believe in lamas and Buddhas, scriptures and priesthood, and strive after the life hereafter, neglect the deeds of the present life and die in vain. This is the result of their over-cleverness. They should employ half of their cleverness in finding out their own Mongolian history, by spending a few days' effort. They could do well to study this *Blue Chronicle of the Rise of the Great Yüan Dynasty* of the highly esteemed Blue Mongols. This certainly will not hinder becoming a Buddha or a great sage, but one even could become a Buddha or a great sage who knows his ancestry. This chronicle not only includes the great deeds of the illustrious clans but it also includes the deeds of the commoners. There is nothing you cannot find out for those who wish to know their origin.

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[108] For an interesting account of Empress Wu, see René Grousset, *The Rise and Splendour of the Chinese Empire*, University of California Press, 1958, pp. 145–150. His English translation of the same passage reads as follows:

> "her eyebrow, arched like the antennae of a butterfly, would never consent to yield to other women. Hiding her face with her sleeve, she applied herself to slander. Her vixen charm had the power of bewitching her master."

[109] Ch. Yao 堯 and Shun 舜. Chinese legendary Sage emperors. Yao was said to have reigned 2357–2255 B. C. and Shun, 2255–2205 B. C.

[110] Yü 禹 the name of the reputed founder of the Hsia dynasty, 2205 B. C. T'ang 湯 founder of the Shang dynasty, 1766 B. C. The phrase "Yao, Shun, Yü and T'ang" signifies the golden age of Chinese history.

[111] Wên-wang 文王 and Wu-wang 武王.

Pray those future scholars do not say that there is nothing marvellous among us Mongols. It is said in the book of *Great Learning*:[112] "In all things take care to praise their good but be vigilant to their evil. While loathing its evil, know its good." [52] Let me then expound on the truth of Good and Evil.

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[112] *ta-hsüeh* 大學, one of the Confucian classics, the *Four Books*.

In this world, the good and evil of ten thousand things are like the principles of Yang and Ying and they interlock like head and tail. If we were to point out the bad things of our Mongol land, they are, One, the land has no top-soil, that when the wind blows, yellow dust darkens heaven and earth. The mountains have no crown, and the rocks have no roots. They move elsewhere when the spring storms rage. Two, there are no streams, and no rivers, so that summer showers collect in pools and puddles. Three, the weather is unbearably cold. Four, the sun shines far away and snow comes early. No seed and fruit can grow. Five, Man eats: meat, blood, milk and butter. Six, Men clothe themselves in skins, hides, furs and wool. Seven, though the disposition of the inhabitants is straightforward, their thoughts are full of envy. Their tempers are short and quick, their conduct is careless, their minds are closed. Eight, their movements are clumsy and awkward and their speech is rude and quarrelsome, arrogant and boastful. Nine, their appearance is coarse, rustic and unsightly. Their actions are not decisive, though they display a certain doltish boldness; they have no long-lasting will and courage. Ten, while they are physically very strong, they possess no great courage. Eleven, they know nothing whatsoever about propriety, morality, modesty and shame. Twelve, even the wild beasts and domestic animals are extremely savage in character. [53] Thus this [land of ours] is the number one worthless forsaken place in this southern continent and our men too are something untouchably disgusting, and the most lying, cheating, boasting and untrustworthy lot. Therefore, we stupid Mongols are truly beasts among men and truly loathsome. Their body emits the odor of their beasts, sheep and goats and it causes nausea for those who encounter them under wind. Is this not something despicable and extremely loathsome? But then with it there are some ten extremely good and marvellous points. What are these extremely marvellous and good things? Let me relate them one by one: One, this northern land of ours knows not the luxuries of the Six Sexual Atractions.[113] Two, there are no epidemics in which millions perish. Three, there is no danger of being trampled under tens of thousands of enemy soldiers. Four, there is no disaster such as the great deluge of the Yellow River. Five, there are no ravages of great fire or earthquake. Six, there are no tyrants amongst the rulers and no vicious villains amongst the people. Seven, there is no great concentration of wealth which can be used to manipulate the masses and stir up troubles. Eight, there is no danger of being stung or bitten unexpectedly by all kinds of poisonous insects and snakes. [54] Nine, there is no poisonous gas or atmosphere which one cannot avoid or escape. Ten, there is no hardship of toiling on the land year after year in farming.

To sum up, these ten points amount to one thing, that it is *troubleless*. "Troubleless" can be defined as *simple*; one interpretation of "simple" is

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[113] Mo. *jirğuğan ujid* "Six Sexual Attractions". The six sexual attractions arising from color, form, carriage, voice, smoothness and features.

straight; "straight" is something approaching *honesty*. Thus in this state of honesty centuries passed. The spiritual atmosphere of the mountains and plains, of lakes and waters of this land being shut and sealed in from the outside world, converged and concentrated into one, and pressed tight like stone, like steel, suffocated and choked. This suppressed great energy suddenly exploded with great force and agitated the great sphere of the universe, thus the August Emperor Cinggis Qağan, Founder of the Dynasty by the Decree of Heaven, was born into this world, like the thunderbolt, like lightning without obstacle he was raising military forces at the age of thirteen. He avenged the death of his father and began his campaign in the four directions and the eight corners. He experienced thousands and tens of thousands of hardships and suffering without being discouraged, and personally conquered the Four-colored People and the Five Alien Lands and forced them to submit to him and founded the Great World Empire. He did not encroach upon the Chin Empire and the Sung Empire, for the Founding Emperor was a man of compassion. He did not wish to destroy these ancient kingdoms. His ministers importuned him many times to destroy these two empires but he did not consent. When he was forty-five years old, [55] on the first day of the last month, he finally ascended the throne after praying for signs from the heaven for nine consecutive mornings by constructing an altar at the mouth of the Mong River. At that time, when the subjects of the Chin Empire came in droves to register their complaints against their own sovereign, he resolved to take up a punitive campaign against the Chin Empire. Up until then, though he had conquered twelve famous Khans and seventy-five lesser tribes, he did not wish to destroy the southern [empire] of long tradition. When the Chin sent him an envoy and ordered him to receive the Imperial Edict with humility, he roared with laughter and spat toward the south and commanded thus: "Thousands of your subjects came to me twice to register their complaints against your sovereign. I have been hesitant to conduct a punitive campaign against your lord because I felt it improper to war against a king taking the word of his slaves. Your insults are like a kid bleating to intimidate a tiger." So saying, the Emperor turned his horse's head and returned to the altar and ordered a punitive campaign against the Chin Empire. And in the year of the Female White Sheep (1211), at the age of fifty, Cinggis qağan invaded Chin and besieged the capital of Chin. The capital of Chin would have been occupied, were it not for the fact that the Emperor became compassionate, and spared the city for the time being by ordering his generals to lift the siege, following the example of King Wên who became compassionate upon hearing the wailing of the multitude when he besieged the Sung city of the Eastern Lord, the Marquis Hu of the State of Ch'ung (Ch'ung Hou Hu 崇侯虎). Alas, it was later in the twenty-fourth year that the third son of the Emperor, Ögedei the T'ai-tsung Ying-wên huang-ti, extinguished the Chin Empire. [56] All these are the evidence of the August person and his true compassion. This is then "the goodness of extreme evil, the sagacity of extreme foolishness, the keenness of extreme dullness, the concordance of extreme contradiction. "The fact that August Cinggis was born among the Mongols had suddenly awakened and enlightened the stupid Mongols. Henceforth, Mongols were accepted into the equality of men and came to be considered a people of the main nations. Even until now [the Mongols] serve, though another's dynasty, as great ministers, and are equal to the clever Chinese ministers and the Manchu dignitaries of Imperial clan. Even the emperors of this dynasty, when they conclude marriage relations with our *taijis* and *tabunangs*, honor them as equals of royal descent. Although our subjects were all registered on the census of the Ch'ing dynasty, and deprived their rights, they were not completely taken away and made citizens. All these are the graces and heritages which were the seed planted by only one man, the August Cinggis of that time. At the present time although [the Mongols] do not enjoy the amassing of great power of state as do the Chinese ministers, they do enjoy preferential privileges with the Imperial house compared to the Chinese. Also [the Mongols] are much better off the present day Tibetans, Qotungs, Ögeled and Chahar, Hami and the Moslems. All these peoples existed before the Mongols, but they are much less esteemed compared to the Mongols. This point should be reflected upon by those learned ones.

[57] THE BLUE CHRONICLE OF THE RISE OF THE GREAT YÜAN DYNASTY

A SET OF EXPLANATORY REMARKS

PART SIX OF THE *TOBCITU TOLTA*

Aye, the climate of heaven and earth of this world differs from place to place according to the distance of the heat of the sun and the altitude of the terrain. Accordingly, the early and late arrival of spring and autumn, and the heat or coldness of summer and winter all vary according to geographical location. Therefore, all creations of this world are created differently. Though the seeds of the millet are alike, the millet of mountainous areas is hard and tough, while the millet of the plains areas is soft and pliable. This alone demonstrates the simple truth of the way of the world even to a simple farmer. It is needless to talk about the chü-tzŭ 橘子 (orange) which grows north of the river, and the chih-tzŭ 枳子 (variety of orange) which grows south of the river.[114] As such human beings of this world also differ from each other. Even the ancient sages, the great virtuous ones and the mighty ones were not the same. They all conducted themselves with their respective distinguished virtues according to their own character. Therefore, the books and writings of each nation too follow the characteristics of their respective nation and differ in their themes and views. For example, the most fragrant and beautiful thing in this world is a flower, but not all flowers are the same. They all possess their characteristic colors. Fruits are tasty, but they all have a different taste. [58] While the Chinese use end rhyme, the Mongols use alliteration, the Tibetans use rhythm, and the Manchus use parallelism in their speech. Since this book is in Mongolian, it repeatedly employs alliteration in felicitation and parallelism in discourse. There also occur much slang, literary forms and abstract expressions and obsolete Mongolian expressions. Those names of individuals and tribes, the initials of alliterated forms and the contents of a parallel phrase which could not be changed were left as they were. Pray that future scholars will not blame Injannasi for not being able to translate them into modern normalized orthography. It is quite all right to change some prose parts into modern expressions, but if I should change the alliterated and parallel passages, they will produce something very inappropriate. Even if in the future a brilliant scholar comes out of the holy stock, who possesses power and wealth and who wishes also to follow this book and to leave something in this world for ten thousand generations, and to win the admiration and respect of posterity for ten thousand generations, and who publishes this book in print; or, since the Chinese always vilify the Mongols, if there comes a distinguished person, who with great learning, power and wealth, translates this work into Chinese and makes printing blocks and publishes it, whereby the glory of the true marvel of the Mongols spreads for ten thousand generations; [59] or if those learned Mongols within the Inner three confederations who excell in Chinese and who can produce great literary composition as soon as they hold the brush in their hand, should translate this work into Chinese, they can surely utilize Chinese end rhyme to express the alliteration and parallelism of the original Mongolian, be they songs of poetry, composition or essays, and produce them in the [Chinese] traditions of *shih* 詩 *tz'ŭ* 詞 *ko* 歌 *fu* 賦 (the four orders of Chinese poetry)[115] and like *ši*, *šu*, *lüwen iüi*.[116] Again, if the names of persons, localities and tribes can be converted into Chinese by interpreting their meanings, it could be an interesting book to read. If one must follow the long tradition that personal names must be reproduced exactly, they will be three yards long the way they appear in such works as the *kang-chien*[117] and will certainly be tongue twisters for the reader and impede their comprehension of the content and cause them to lose interest and throw it away. Therefore, if one lists all of the long tongue-twisting names in order and writes them as they were and under each of these names uses either the first letter of the word or uses their meaning to create a new name in Chinese and use them in the text instead, then the difficulty will be solved. Therefore, if [this task] falls into the hands of those who have a "chest of silk and brocade"[118] or those with "talents of gold and jade"[119] or those sagacious ones with keen intellect, it can be written out in one or two years time. [60] The summaries and the introductory poems by me, Injannasi, could also be translated into Chinese with end rhyme in the Chinese manner. Actually, it will be much easier than translating something from Chinese to Mongolian. The reason for this is that there are too many Chinese characters and the words are abbreviated. The meanings are profound and their pronunciation agreeable. One character can be produced in ten different ways. When translating Chinese into Mongolian, except for a few extremely erudite scholars, if one cannot find the Mongolian expression which contains the profound meaning of the original Chinese, it cannot produce one-tenth of the meaning of the original Chinese, but produces something careless and crude. The first rule of ten rules of literature is "harmony". If one should be too literal, then he will be the same as a son of a thief who knows nothing better but to follow in his father's footsteps.

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[114] This is an allusion to the story of Yen-tzŭ 晏子 (Yen Yin 晏嬰 d. 500 B. C.) in *Yen-tzŭ Ch'un-ch'iu* 晏子春秋. The story goes that when the King of Ch'u heard that the famed Yen-tzŭ was to be the ambassador from the state of Ch'i to his court, he just had to prearrange a plot to embarrass Yen-tzŭ. Now Yen-tzŭ was presented to the court and a state dinner was given for him by the King. When the banquet and the drinking were in high spirits, two guards entered the hall with a prisoner. The King of Ch'u asked who the prisoner was and was told the man was a citizen of Ch'i and was accused of theft. Whereupon, the king looked at Yen-tzŭ and asked "Are the people of Ch'i good at thievery?". To which Yen-tzŭ got up from his seat and respectfully replied: "I have heard that when chü-tzŭ (oranges) are grown south of the river (south of Yang-tzŭ river) they are called chü-tzŭ, and the same fruit grown north of the river is called chih-tzŭ. Although their leaves and appearance are the same, their taste is quite different (chih-tzŭ is sour and unedible). Why is this so? I believe the soil and water (also alludes to custom) of the two areas are different. Now when a man is born and raised in the state of Ch'i, he does not know how to steal, but on the other hand when he comes to the state of Ch'u, he learns how to steal. Does this not mean the soil and water of the state of Ch'u make people more prone to stealing?". The king of Ch'u laughed and said: "One should never try to get the better of a wise man, it is our own fault that we got the answer we deserved."

[115] Poetic genres of Chinese poetry: *shih* "poetry"; *tz'ŭ* "long and short verse"; *ko* "song"; *fu* "prose-poem".

[116] The Mongolian text gives: *ši*, *šü*, *lüwen iüi*. It is difficult to reconstruct the Chinese terms here because of possible error by the copyist. It does not seem to be a known phrase.

[117] i. e.: *kang-mu* and *t'ung-chien*.

[118] Mo. *taji mangnuğ-un kekügdegten* "those with a chestful of damask and brocade." A phrase descriptive of a learned scholar.

Alas, at this time and age, those great meritorious ones and powerful ones who enjoy the zenith of power and wealth do nothing but enjoy life, and if lucky they will live to be seventy or eighty. At the end, they depart this world one morning and leave not a trace, like the smoke of burnt incense, and as time passes, not a single soul will remember them. I have often reflected that they could think of leaving their names in books and writing and be remembered and talked about by educated people for ten thousand generations. Even if they themselves were too lazy or if they did not possess such abilities, [61] they could certainly use some of their rotten money to subsidize some undiscovered scholar. Let them translate and publish some ancient and modern books and writings which will be left for the future, ten thousand generations to come. While you are living, it will not waste your wealth, and when you are gone, it will not be left in vain; this [book producing] alone has both of these advantages and is a long-lasting enterprise. Whereas gold, silver, jewelry and pearls, house and estate, land and farm will belong to others some day, no one can take away your books and your knowledge. Since even the common folk cannot use them to sustain their daily life, no one can eat them or drink them up, or discharge them as excrement. They are not suitable for papering windows or plugging the door, since they are black with ink, and they are rather flimsy for wiping things or covering up jars. Therefore, their long life is guaranteed. As long as they survive, one will not have to worry that they will not be picked up one day by a learned scholar. Witness, even after some 710 years we are able to discuss the several thousand individuals of the time of the August Cinggis Qağan in terms of "this one was like this" and "that one was like that." This means we ourselves will be talked about after a hundred, a thousand, or ten thousand years. For example, the great scholar Chin Sheng-t'an (d. 1661) 金聖嘆[120] of the late Ming dynasty was executed by the newly instituted Ch'ing dynasty. Although they were able to kill him, they were not able to kill his reputation and his literary heritage. Now there is not a single soul who can read a few words in Chinese, Mongolian, Manchu or Tibetan who does not love and respect master Shêng-t'an. [62] He was not a sage king like the ancient emperors Yao, Shun, Yü and T'ang, nor was he like the sages Wên, Wu, Duke Chou and Confucius. He was simply one who was skilled in writing and broad in his intellectual attainment, meticulous in his commentary and criticism, keen in his understanding and observation. He was a scholar who had a chest like crystal, a scholarship like brocade and damask. He did not possess great achievement nor fame in pacifying the world or founding an empire. Even those great ones who did achieve great deeds, unless thanks to some future scholar, their deeds will not have been written as an interesting book. Their deeds perhaps will be known from a few lines on a stele, and though their descendants may have enjoyed a few years of prosperity, there are not a few cases where finally even their descendants will have forgotten them. When the [particular] dynasty comes to an end, even the stele for these great personages will become oblivious to people. If unluckily a tyrant should come across the stele, it may not escape instant destruction by fire or pulverization. How could they [steles] survive for long [like books] in the household of common people by being hidden away?

When a dynastic history is examined by a later state, for the past dynasty, although ten thousand worthy events exist, it will not escape the fate of being condensed in a few lines, and only distinguished items will win a place in the *Kang-mu* and *Kang-chien*, and the matter ends there. There are several hundred volumes of the *Kang-mu* and *Kang-chien* full of such kings and ministers, such *qans* and such officials. And when the future generation reads them, [63] they are nothing but boring, uninteresting facts of death and birth which were repeated for ages and no one really bothered to read them. Although some tireless readers will read them, they will scarcely be surprised or marvel at these accounts, since so much of the stuff recurs over and over. All they can do is skim over it but they cannot retain in their memories the names, the chronologies, the characters and their conduct and whether they were right or wrong. Hence such materials will not be talked about or discussed, and they may just as well not have been recorded in the first place. Therefore, it [the writing] must be a special history, a separate book, something like a tale or a biography. Only then can it be widespread among the populace and be sought after for reading and collection. It is because of its entertaining quality.

I, Taiji Injannasi, could have had a life of sleeping on brocade bedding and living in a crystal palace, surrounded by a harem of powder and rouge, wading in a perfumed hall. In the winter's cold, I could lie within a palace of heated wall and floor with crystal windows; in the summer's heat, I could spend time in gardens of flower, jungle and pond, where birds sing amidst rays of green. What an easy, leisurely and enjoyable life I could have had! Yet I did not give even an hour or a minute's rest to my delicate body. When the day broke, I continued [my work] until the sun set. And when night arrived, I continued till the cock heralded the dawn. I wrote and drew, I turned page after page, seeking and searching. I copied and translated. In the beginning, I wrote poetry and at the end I commented, summarized and criticized. [64] Though I enjoyed all these from the bottom of my heart, I did not wish to waste my life in vain as that of a common person. Is this not why I undertook to compile the true history of the Great Yüan dynasty and presenting it to the world, trusting that through this book, I may remain among Mongols for a thousand and ten thousand years, without being decayed, exhausted or destroyed? When one's heart desires something, how can one enjoy life by holding one's hands and nursing one's knees, and caring only for one's body? I do not consider these things as happiness. For, as the common saying goes, "As the grass is green for an autumn, men live for one generation." [It is a pity] having been born into this world, at the summit of all things, at the head of all living beings, as a man, to have to live like beasts and birds of the wilderness, caring about nothing but his stomach and having nothing to do when his belly is full. If he has some money and strength, he will do his utmost to strive after the six worldly pleasures. Furthermore, in this day and age, people gamble and fight crickets. Even more ridiculous is the shameful practice of homosexuality in which man lusts for man. It is said a rectal instrument has been invented for this purpose. And adding the pleasure of this Living-imitating-the-dead game of opium-smoking, makes ten earthly pleasures, and there is very little chance that the ordinary soul would be able to avoid seeking these pleasures. [65] Even the very lowly and very poor acquire this deadly habit of smoking opium. They lay themselves down in a corner of a wall or under the warm sun. They use lamps made of broken cups and smoke opium with pipes of gourds and hemp stalks. Their bodies feel numb, like the dead yet living. They feel as though they are lying on cotton or floating. These people must have accumulated great merit and good deeds in their previous incarnations, and are enjoying these great worldly pleasures as a reward in this life. It is not for me, of humble birth, to covet these pleasures.

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[119] Mo. *altan qas-un oyutan.*

[120] The most famous editor-commentator of late Ming dynasty who was noted for his famed editions of popular literature such as the *Shui-hu Chuan*, etc.

Among these ten earthly pleasures I did covet and enjoy, was to be able to sit in a lovely garden with flowers during warm spring days or moonlit autumn nights with an intimate friend, to drink lightly while we search deep into our souls, to have a sip of scented tea while we discuss a profound subject. A stick of incense, a bouquet of flowers for our hors d'oeuvres, to relax our minds and to amuse our hearts. To laugh and amuse, this I consider my supreme pleasure.

But after continuing such enjoyment for several years, I found many difficulties in continuing it because of economic reasons and waste of time. So I first had to lessen it and finally gave it up completely with a deep sigh. Instead, I adopted this passionate pleasure of brush and ink. Why do I take this playing with book and writing as a form of passionate pleasure-seeking? This word "passion" (*ujid*) is not used here in the usual sense of sensual passion. [66] When one pursues something with such zeal, and forgets and neglects his existence, and living and toiling, it can be described as *ujid nüri*[121] and when one gives himself up for such useless things to passionately pursue them, this can be referred to as passionate pleasure. Since it is called pleasure, it no longer has anything to do with the right conduct of making a living and becomes a kind of passion. When I reflected on this matter [I reached the conclusion] that if one should let this insignificant body have the slightest repose it is bound to crave some kind of evil pleasure. If I should divert this pleasure-seeking into the pleasure of brush and ink, it appears its harm should be less than some other type of passionate pleasure. Furthermore, it is even easier to give up. If one day fortune smiles upon me and a better thing is offered to me, I can easily cap the writing brush, cover up the ink slab, close the books, button up the case [of the book] and bid farewell to them. It does not possess the characteristics of tenacious hold and deep passion which make it difficult to part with, like some other passionate pleasures. Beside, should this long-time effort finally pay off one day, and it comes to be presented in this world, it will be of some help for future scholars. For this reason, I, who am foolish and doltish, senile and ignorant as I am, with the utmost ability permitted by my foolish, doltish, senile and ignorant self, emptied my chest. I wrote in the morning, and examined during the nights, not abandoning it come good or bad times, or times of sickness or emergency. I wrote, I translated, [67] I searched, and I scrutinized, I edited and commented and versified. Those sagacious readers will note that when you finish a chapter, you may go back to the verses in the beginning of the chapter, only then will you enjoy the full meaning. It is to be noted that in this book there are many obsolete and abbreviated words. For example *kerkin* (how) is written *ker, egeci ökin degüü* (elder and younger sisters) is contracted as *egeci düyi. Ağtuğai* (be!) is abbreviated *atuğai, uqağatu* (intelligent) is abbreviated as *uqatu.* I hope the wise reader will not think I made errors. They are in the northern Mongolian dialect and in the written form. Therefore, to explain these facts, I wrote this section to facilitate understanding.

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[121] Mo. *ujid* "passionate, lustful, sinful". *nöri* "fiend".

[68] THE BLUE CHRONICLE OF THE RISE OF THE GREAT YÜAN DYNASTY
A SET OF EXPLANATORY REMARKS
PART SEVEN OF THE *TOBCITU TOLTA*

A Frank Essay on Distinguishing Prejudice and Falsehood

The ancient Chinese Holiest Sage of Supreme Achievement, the Master Confucius said "There is beginning and end in all matters, as there is beginning and end in all things."[122] Therefore, it is appropriate for the men of this world to know their ancestry and national origin. Even the Son-of-Heaven, the sovereign himself, if he does not observe filial piety to his own parents, is no more worthy than the lowliest of his subjects. As such, if a human being does not know his ancestry and national origin, and does not know his ancestors' names and deeds, even though he may have excelled in the knowledge of astronomy and geography, and understood the way of the world and the secrets of the universe, it will be like putting a short stick of a few inches on the roof top of a tower, and saying it is taller than the tower itself. It is for this reason, I, Taiji Injannasi, hoping that all our Mongolian people will know and comprehend [their origin] that I undertook the task of compiling this book. I searched through the books and chronicles, tales and biographies on the Great Yüan dynasty of the Blue Mongols collected by my princely father, wishing to continue my father's ambition to compile this Great Yüan history for posterity, [69] and to propagate it among the wise as among the ordinary. In examining the many source materials, I found that none of these sources were complete. Even the standard history translated by Imperial command is not complete and there were many missing and incomplete [parts]. Therefore, when I collated the dates and chronology, in some the same event occurred first, and in others, later. Although the theme of all ten of my sources was one and the same, details varied greatly and they were difficult to reconcile in the mind of the reader. Therefore, I continued from the eight chapters compiled by my princely father, using modern, easy to understand expressions. In writing this book, I wanted to adopt the chronology of the *Kang-mu* and begged my sixth brother Süng (Süngwaidangjung), the *Tusalağci Taiji* in charge of the Seal, to translate the *Kang-mu* into Mongolian. [We found] that the *Kang-mu* does record clearly Mongolian affairs especially military campaigns and seizures of cities and fortresses, but it does not contain the events preceding the enthronement of T'ai-tsu, in the year of the Red Tiger (1206), when he was forty-five years old. Although subsequent events were generally recorded, the names of the Mongol generals, tribal and geographical terms were written in such a nonsensical manner. Furthermore, there is a shameful practice [in the *Kang-mu*] which induces one to laugh almost until splitting one's sides. It is rather amusing to point it out. The world over, whosoever it may be, when one speaks even a simple word honestly and without bias, the word so spoken will be agreeable and receptive to the hearer. [70] Even in the hamlets and villages of remote mountains or hinterland, people honor and respect elders who speak true words and all believe what they speak. Even a simple farmer honors uprightness and honesty. If the statements and views expressed in books and writings were based on honesty and righteousness, there would be no one who does not appreciate them among ten thousand readers. However, when the *Kang-mu* was revised during the Ming dynasty, when they recorded the major events concerning the Mongols, they were not able to specifically point out the great evils done by the Mongols, and went on recording all historical events. However, in the later parts of the *table*[123] and the *judgment*[124] they not only presented with prejudice all the evil deeds of the Mongols as evil, but they treated all the good deeds as evil as well. In skillfully presenting their jaundiced view, they employed hidden thorns in their language, and though they were not able to point out the great fault, the great wrong, the great tyranny and the great crime of the Mongols, they did all they could to attribute an improper statement of a minister as his sovereign's, or to treat hearsay as a true account. For example, in recording the events of T'ai-tsu and T'ai-tsung, they stated that at such and such a campaign against such and such a state, entire populations of so many cities were massacred, or else so many Fu (prefecture), Chou (region) and Hsien (county) were plundered, and so forth, and tried hard to show how the Mongols were merciless tyrants. [71] Alas, in so doing, they shamefully defiled the great work of *Tzŭ chih t'ung chien kang-mu* of the great scholar Chu Hsi-chih into something profane and prejudicious, like the swearings of an evil woman, into something extremely biased and false and no longer able to hide their prejudiced falsehood, which bared the smallness of their heart and soul, and the foulness of their mouth like that of a wench. Why was this so? Let me explain it bit by bit. There is a good reason behind this. As a matter of fact, the Chinese of the Middle Kingdom always considered the Mongols of the north inhuman. They think that ordinary beasts go on all fours and that the only difference of the northern people is they stand on two legs, their other conduct and behavior and their characteristics being that of beasts. Even their [Chinese] perfected chaste scholars inclined toward such beliefs. Who would have known that the sudden descent of the Polaris[125] to the desert region of the north was the birth of the

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[122] Quotation from Confucian classic *The Great Learning* (ta-hsüeh), Par. 3: 物有本末事有終始 "Things have their roots and their branches. Affairs have their end and their beginning." See James Legge, *The Chinese Classics*, Vol. 1, p. 357.

[123] Ch. *piao* 表 Mo. *iledkel.*

[124] Ch. *p'an* 判 Mo. *ilğal.*

[125] The stars are deified in Sino-Mongolian mythology and it is believed that great rulers were the incarnations of the Polar star.

August Militant Cinggis qağan into this world. Once the pealing of thunder flashed in the sky, a world empire was founded which lasted 162 years, and subjugated were the Chinese of the Middle Kingdom. These Chinese who were petty and jealous with the heart of a woman, did not take into account the great design of Heaven and Earth, [72] but simply vented their foul bias. Since they could not avoid the design of heaven, they were vexed until their teeth ached. They rubbed their hands, and scratched their heads, after being enslaved for 162 years under fourteen emperors of the Great Yüan dynasty. No sooner had the Ming dynasty come into being, than they were vexed for having no place to take their vengeance. Instead they sharpened their tongues like evil women and vilified the Mongols in the great *Kang-mu* of Master Chu, showing how evil and tyrannical the Mongols were and how the Mongols were merciless and ignorant, just as they pleased without rhyme or reason. This is clearly a great crime of defiling a great book perpetuated by the Chinese historians with their petty jealousy and selfish bigotry. Everything in this universe, beginning with heaven and earth, sun and moon, all creation issued forth from the atmosphere of Yang and Yin and was formed by the principle of the five elements, and the world was filled with creation. All things in this world have a principle and the principle lies in profound thinking. Therefore, no one in this world is without an ego. But when the ego becomes excessive, it becomes jealousy. For example, the present custom of always believing that whatever deeds of one's own are right and whatever acts of other's are wrong, create ceaseless conflict which was described in the scripture of Lord Buddha as [73] the "Struggling world" and "Land of Suffering". For the time being, let us forego other discussion and talk about the doctrines of Scripture [Buddhism] and Book [Confucianism]. Both of these two teachings originated from the foundation of goodness of the heart. But the Scripture advocates "Void" as the ultimate and leads the wise ones of the universe to pursue the "void". On the other hand, the Book bases itself on "Existence" and sets forth the creatures of this world seeking after "Existence". Since their conceptions are in conflict, the less versed adherents of these two schools harbor prejudicious contempt against each other. This contemptuous prejudice is not harbored by scripture nor books. It is the creation of less educated adherents of these two schools. The truth of the matter is that although both of these terms of so-called *existence* and *voidness* are two different words, they actually mean the same thing. Why? Because thanks to the very word "existence" we have the word "void". Likewise thanks to the word "void" there comes to be the word "existence". These two words are like a ring of which the head and the tail are connected. To illustrate this in a simple way, when a man or living being is alive, then it is *existence*, and when he dies, it is *void*. When an object is made, then it is in its existence and when it breaks down, then it is its void. To illustrate further, all those tens and thousands of men and creatures of the early past did exist in their own time, but their time has passed, and they are now void. This nation, this body of ours, seemingly exists now,

but at the end cannot avoid becoming void [74] so what else can it be but void? After we have left [this world] into voidness, there will be the existence of future beings and thanks to them we become void, and only they exist. Therefore, if you say existence exists, then they all exist, and if you say they are void, they are all void. Therefore, voidness closely follows behind existence, and existence is formed out of void. Therefore, existence is void, void is existence. As both existence and void are intimate and inseparable, who dare say they are not the same word? Since both existence and void are the same thing, what on earth are secular and clerical ones of the school of scripture and books disputing about anyway? At this point, reflecting on this problem I, the ignorant, looking at the Void could not help burst out laughing, until I almost split my sides. I reflected upon the futility of the dispute around existence and voidness, and concluded that behind this dispute lay petty egoism. As such, the way of the present world is for the house of the left to calumniate the house of the right, and for the southern provinces to demean the land of the north. The Middle Kingdom will be contemptuous toward its outer tribes, and the upper class suppresses the lower class; all stems from this. Naturally, contempt works both ways. Just as the Phoenix flies a thousand miles, there comes to be a swift horse which run a thousand miles on land. [75] No false principles can long dominate the world nor can false doctrine be spread wide. If he be not a divine being, he may not reign the world as sovereign. And if he is not a deity, he will not be able to found an empire. How could anyone by sheer despotism and tyranny hope to rule and unite the four seas? Witness the founding Emperor of the Ch'in dynasty: notwithstanding his solid foundation, how long did he last after resorting to despotism? Is not this principle clear in man's perception? If the sovereigns of the Blue Mongol Yüan dynasty were really evil and tyrannical, how could the Lord-on-High decree 162 years of world reign to them? And how could the Mongols after some 710 years still rule a territory of ten thousand *lis* with *taijis* of 170 banners? Alas, if one speaks without prejudice and without falsehood, and with honesty and straightforwardness, it is true that the Mongols are stupid, unpolished, ignorant, haughty, gauche and all that, but they have no hidden secret wickedness and deep rooted malice, and all respect straightforwardness, honesty and uprightness. Unfortunately, it was only the petty jealous Chinese scribes of the Ming dynasty who intentionally wished to vilify the Mongols, [76] that caused the defilement of the great *Kang-mu* which Chu Hsi-chih of Sung dynasty compiled without bias. They defiled and dishonored his true history. Alas, from the ancient time when two powers struggled over the government of the world, none of the people of these states was able to escape the fate of suffering ruin. Even when the two sage kings Wên and Wu took arms against their liege lord King Chou of the Shang dynasty, the bones of those slaughtered by the soldiers of both sides were said to fill the battlefield and their blood flowed in a river. For some two thousand years, the Mongols never submitted to the Middle Kingdom, when they campaigned against the two empires Chin and Sung as an equal state, but how can one prevent loss of life in military actions? The normal loss of human life in military expeditions cannot be considered merciless carnage. This is not all. Not only did they shield and suppress the many outstanding good deeds and marvellous achievements but instead strove to find all kinds of fault, and manufactured lies and did not heed in the slightest the etiquette of those who received their baptism in ink.[126] That is not all. They finally even tried to vilify the *Wên-wu huang-ti*, the Qubilai Secen Qağan. This is of course nothing but the babble of a child and the profanity of an evil woman. Therefore, those of the present time who are able to read a few words in Chinese, having read the *Kang-chien*, insist upon the authenticity of the *Kang-mu* and *Kan-chien*, [77] and parrot the vilifications of the Mongols in these books and speak of "We Mongols were like this and we Mongols were like that." This is because they have never read the standard history of the Mongols. As a matter of fact, when the early great states instituted [the office] of historian, they were very prudent in their selection of them, and they only chose those great scholars who had achieved great merit and those who were able to forego their bigotry. Once a word was spoken by those sages, no one dared to criticize them or speak against them for ten thousand generations. Only such great scholars were selected to perform the task. This is because, on the one hand, whereas the truth is considered to be the most important thing, in the second place they did not wish to leave anything for future mockery, and they held the words of the state to be sacred. But during the Ming dynasty, they employed people who were not free from jealousy and selfishness to compile the great history, who produced much prejudice and falsehood, and were no better than the malicious jealousy of an evil woman. Thus, in the Ming-chi (Ming edition) *Kang-mu*, they completely excluded some fifty-four years reign of the four emperors T'ai-tsu, T'ai-tsung (Ögedei), Ting-tsung (Güyük) and Hsien-tsung (Möngke); and also the four years of Chung-t'ung 中統 (1260–1263) of the reign of the Emperor Shih-tsu (Qubilai) and [78] sixteen years of Chih-yüan 至元 (1264–1294) were [completely ignored]; and made a total of 89 years [for the reign of Yüan dynasty].[127] And they declared that "Fortune does not smile upon a northern barbarian for a hundred years"[128] in a memorial toadying to the Founding Emperor of Ming. This is not any different from the behavior of a lewd woman who has affairs with several men, and must please each with a different mien, or like that of a prostitute who must please her guest with debauchery. How far did they dishonor black ink! Suppose we accept the theory that no matter how the nation is in ruin and subjugated to others by paying tribute, as long as there is a child who bears the name of emperor, one must consider the world rightfully his. But how about the Great Mongol Yüan dynasty whose descendants continued to reign as emperors up to very recent times of the Senggedügüreng Qağan[129] of Köke-qota during the reign of T'ai-tsu (Nurhaci) and T'ai-tsung (Abahai) of this Great Ch'ing dynasty. Not to mention the fact, even now there are no less than four Khans, one in each of the four Khalkha *aimags*. Furthermore, they are chartered under the laws of this great Ch'ing dynasty. Does not this mean then, that we should not count the ensuing Ming dynasty and this Ch'ing dynasty as the legitimate rulers? The descendants of the Yüan Imperial house kept up their emperor's throne. Can we then consider Ming and Ch'ing as transitional states? [79] Also, the Ming dynasty never was able to unify the north until the end. Can we then not consider the Ming Emperors as Sons-of-Heaven who ruled the world because they were like the Liao and Chin empires who were not able to conquer southern China? Their arguments are distorted and false, tasteless and meaningless and cannot be accepted by the public. The great empire[130] and the Chin empire both paid tribute and submitted to T'ai-tsu when he was still living. Many of the ministers advocated that the state of Chin should be annihilated once and for all to prevent future subversion. The august Cinggis qağan did not consent to this, saying that "Our heart cannot bear to destroy an ancient kingdom in one morning." This [statement] convinced [them] that [Cinggis] was a true saint. Though finally both Chin and Sung were annihilated, they called down wrath upon themselves by forfeiting their oaths, and turning back from their submission. Do not these facts prove how biased and false the Chinese scribes were? To speak with absolute honesty and straightforwardness, without distortion or bias, without selfish motive or falsification, regardless of whether at present or in the past, once one pays tribute, one becomes the subject, and the one who receives the tribute, will be the liege lord. Therefore, the early Chou state continued to be the sovereign of all until its end, and it alone must be counted as the sovereign state. In this world, can [80] a ruler be referred to as the ruler of the world and the Son-of-Heaven when he himself pays tribute to others? As such, to deride alien nations with hidden remarks to discredit other teachings are all the petty jealousy of an evil woman and the foul mouth of a harlot; they are at best most common, most ordinary, and extremely distasteful and extremely loathsome habits. The ancients thus wisely said that "All human beings of the world insist on their selfrighteousness. If there are those who say they themselves are wrong, then they are the wise and superior ones". Since I began to notice things, I have begun to observe the customs of the world. I have noticed that those who are considered great scholars scorn alien nations. Those who are considered quite learned censor others' teachings. They too cannot avoid bias and falsehood. This is just the same as those workers and artists, writers and merchants, physicians, shamans, shamanesses and midwives who despise others of their guild, and deride each other behind their back and think only of themselves as the better one. Some learned ones believe that only the Middle Kingdom is the kingdom of heaven, and that it alone possesses humanity. They believe this land alone receives the major benefits of sun and moon, and this land alone gives birth to intellects and wise ones, great minds and scholars. They not only explain all the rest to be strange, alien, perverse and evil, peculiar and queer, [81] they even believe this to be true in their hearts. If so, from the ancient Three Kings and the Five Ti's up to recent times, for a total of more than three thousand years, they were not able to calculate the exact dates of the eclipses of sun and moon. Not until the time of the fourth lord of this Great Ch'ing dynasty, the August Merciful Emperor K'ang-hsi's reign, was a Moslem European by the name of Nan Hua-jen [Nan Huai-jen][131] who was called upon to calculate [the eclipses] and [his calculation] was [officially] adopted. Does this fact not speak for itself? I have often been suspicious of these bigoted scholars. These learned ones never really studied their doctrines deeply; how could they know their teaching is the only truth and the others are all wrong? Although I have mastered none of these teachings, I have never judged anyone to be absolutely wrong. Why? The teaching of Buddha teaches the voidness of the Samsara (phenomenal world) and salvation through it, while the teaching of Confucianism advocates the spread of descendants and the pursuing of achievements and learning as the fundamental way of the world. While one makes this world void, the other fills the world. At first glance, they are in conflict but ultimately they both aim at the same end – the foundation of goodness. Let us examine further with the example of these two teachings, yellow (yellow sect of Buddhism) and secular teachings which are in front of our eyes. I have talked to many learned among the adherents of Taoism, Christianity, [82] the teaching of Müwe Di (Mo Tzŭ 墨子), the teaching of Yang jü (Yang Chu 楊朱) and Catholicism, etc. I have found all of them teach goodness to their adherents. None of them advocate one to harm those who are distant, or to kill their own relatives. Even those Muslim butchers of sheep and cows, not able to bear simply killing sheep and cows for meat, perform some kind of ritual to direct the souls of the slaughtered animals to heaven, and offer prayers and bless their knives before they proceed to kill. They may not be able to dispatch the slaughtered souls to heaven, but if you compare the present day Chinese and Mongols who simply butcher their animals without any kind of ritual, for meat and profit, those Muslims certainly have good hearts. Those not informed often simply follow the crowd by custom and defame the Muslims as having an animal origin, and say that they adhere to evil teaching and false doctrine. Alas, how unjust this is! For example, at present, the adherents of Yellow religion [perform rituals] in order to commit the soul of the dead to the paradise of Amitabha Buddha, though they are not sure whether they are able to commit the soul as they hope, they certainly do not believe that they are committing the soul to hell instead. The intentions are the same in both cases, except for the difference that one [= animal] is killed and the other [= human] died naturally. [83] All acts in this universe arise from thought, and because the thought [to commit dead souls to paradise] is a good thought, it finds adherents. Because they like its goodness, they call it a teaching. I think the founder of a religion cannot profit from his teaching in gold and silver and enjoy life's pleasures; so there is no reason for him to go through hardship and suffering just to devise a new evil doctrine. Wh atwould he gain by it? I think each of these teachings has its good points and never intended to be evil. Only that we know not the fine details of these teachings and theories and true characters, and we believe them to be unacceptable and wrong. Naturally, the founder of a religion can not say "My religion is no good; my religion is wrong; the other teachings are right; you all follow them; leave my religion; don't follow my religion; do not study my religion." Since it is being called a teaching, it is founded for the purpose of teaching people. It simply cannot be evil. Therefore, in the four realms of ten thousand nations each has its planting and harvesting, and produce of their land, nutrition and fruit by which they sustain their lives. [84] Therefore the growth of all grains and fruits differs from place to place, and the texture and flosses differ from locality to locality. Similarly, they each call the same thing by their own respective names. It is said that now in Su Chow and Hang Chou of the south, the immorality of a woman is not derided but her family's poverty and lowliness is. As such can we then look upon them as inhuman, just because their customs differ from that of Chung-yüan (Central plain)? If they do not consider the immorality of women as immorality, but consider it as sensible, then should it not be considered as a just means of that region for obtaining a livelihood? Again, it is said that in some countries when parents die, they inter them with gold and jade. In some countries when parents die, they brace them up with copper and iron. In some areas they use wooden coffins, and in some localities they simply bury them in the earth. Some cremate them by fire, some commit them to water and the river. Some use steel knives to cut them into pieces for birds to eat, and some even invite their neighbors to feast on their parent's remains. Though funeral arrangements may differ from place to place, the grieving and mourning of loved ones are the same all over. They all seek the best according to their own custom. The outer aspects may differ but the thought behind them are the same. In the interior, they inter the dead in gold and jade, [85] in Chung-yüan they bury their dead in wooden coffins; in southern China they inter the dead in lakes and rivers; in Mongolia they cremate their dead; the Moslems bury their dead in the earth. In the south they brace the dead with stone and iron; in Tibet they use knives to cut the dead into pieces and crush the bones with axes and leave them to birds. The cannibalistic practice was reported in the book of *Wan pao ch'üan* 萬寶全.[132] There it says "there is a small nation by the name of Chin Wo Kuo in the environs of the ancient Man nation on an island of the Southern Sea. They make their living by hunting beasts and birds of their mountains and plains, and sometimes this nation is also referred to as Man Luo Wu. At times, when the ships and boats of China by dint of wind arrive at their shores, the natives come in hordes and seize those on the ship, kill them and eat their flesh. They make utensils out of human skulls and marrowbones. They curse their parents day and night, hoping they will die sooner. When their parents die, they beat great drums and summon their neighbors to come to feast on the flesh of the dead; they are a nation who knows not of humanity." Thus the book says. I say this is also a prejudicial statement. How do I know? Let us take an example which is right in front of us. Now in our Mongol land, for some fifty to sixty years, even a layman, when parents die, invites lamas and pours oil on the dead and cremates them. [86] Even now the lamas are practicing the same rite for their dead masters. Our people think of this as offering the flesh to Buddha, whereby they prepare their souls for Buddhahood. It is not to be considered the same as Mongols having cursed their parents to death and still not being satisfied with that and taking vengeance by burning their flesh and bones. Suppose those interior Chinese who inter their parents in gold and jade should witness a Mongolian cremation, since they do not know the reason, they will likewise say the same thing as about the people of Chin Wo Kuo. They will say that the Mongols, having cursed their parents to death, not only burn their dead, but call upon those red and yellow robed, pigtailless, bold and shaven people and make them wield sword and spear over the dead and pour oils over the dead to inflame the fire, whereby they take vengeance upon their dead parents. They certainly will not believe that actually it is a rite to offer the flesh of the dead for Buddha to partake of it, thereby making them Buddhas. Now, in Lhasa in Tibet, when one's parent dies, they will call upon professional men to cut up their dead to feed the black vultures. This feeding of black vultures is because these black vultures are believed to be colleagues of the God Coijung (Tib. *chos-skyong* "protector of religion"). And when they eat the flesh of the dead, the sins of the dead will be cleansed and soul will find a good incarnation. For this reason, if the birds do not eat those with great sins, a great ritual must be performed to induce the birds to accept the offering. This too originated for the sake of their benefit. [87] Even those people of Chin Wo Kuo, because of their great population and lack of land and having no domesticated animals, have long since known the taste of human flesh. Therefore when a parent dies, they will call upon their tribes and members of their family to have a great feast, thereby obtaining the merit of making satiated the great hunger of many, and the soul of the dead will go to heaven. To sum it up, all of them possess a kind of mourning rite. Even those who devour the flesh of their parents possess justice and goodness. Such being the case, can any teaching be without a just principle? Is it not simply that customs appear to differ in each place and their concept seems to be strange to each other, but the aims are all the same? Even the peculiarities of the teachings of the Moslems, and the customs of Chin Wo Kuo have their righteousness and goodneess. How could people defame and mock the Son-of-Heaven of the Great Yüan dynasty which ruled the four seas, with their petty jealousy? It is redundant, when in one generation one passes the examination at the *han-lin* academy, people praise the hidden virtues of his ancestry going back as far as nine generations, and yet they censor and criticize with bias the conduct of a sovereign, the Son-of-Heaven, who rules the world, as ignorant and tyrannical [i. e. implicating his whole people]. Not only can they not convince the men of books; even a simple farmer cannot accept it. What a shame, that these despicable toadying calumniators were allowed the privilege of working on such a great work as the great book *Kang-mu*! [88] These Chinese scribes of little talent and little education made whatever statements they liked without carefully thinking about the way and principle of the world and left such nonsensical statements. Why did they not think there would suddenly come forth an impartial scholar who would reprove them severely? They concluded that "No dynasty founded by northern barbarians can last for a hundred years." Now, excluding the reign of T'ai-tsu (Nurhaci), T'ai-tsung (Abahai) and eight years of Shih-tsu (Shun-chih Emperor) in the Eastern Shêng-ching, a total of twenty-nine years out of this Great Ch'ing dynasty, let us count from the first year of Yung-chêng (1723–1735), and to this tenth year of T'ung-chih, the tenth Emperor, a total of 228 years has elapsed. If we add to this the eleven years of T'ai-tsu and ten years of T'ai-tsung, and also the eight years of Tsung-teh, that is the twenty-nine-years of T'ien-ming 天命 (1616–1626), T'ien-ts'ung 天聰 (1627–1635), and Ch'ung-teh 崇德 (1636–1644), it has now been 257 years. North of the Great Wall is called the land of the Hu 胡, and the founders of this dynasty are the men of Northern Hu. Now where will they hide this 228 years? What rot! They bared their bigotry and falsehood by their own zeal in vilifying the Mongols! What a pity and what a shame! As long as the land receives the rays of the sun, it will give birth to men of sagacity and learning. [89] I have often marvelled at two works of Buddhism, the *Kanjur* and the *Tanjur*, truly a gigantic compilation of five-car-loads. What are the contents of these great compilations? According to those lamas who distinguished themselves in that

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[126] Mo. *ücüken cü bekes-ün usun-u tusul-dur kürtegsen dürim ügei boljuqui.* Lit: "[They] became completely without the etiquette of those who received the drops of ink water." That is, without the integrity of a scholar.

[127] The Yüan dynasty was actually proclaimed by Qubilai in 1260, but the Chinese tradition considers that Qubilai sat on the throne of China from 1280 after the complete capitulation of Southern Sung. Hence the attribution of 89 years for the Yüan dynasty.

[128] Or "No northern barbarian may rule the world for a hundred years".

[129] Altan qan's son who succeeded as *Shun-i wang* in 1583 and died in 1585. The last of the qans from the House of Yüan was actually Ligdan qan who reigned from 1604 to 1634.

[130] There appears to be a lacuna here. The Mongolian has *yeke ulus ba* "the great nation and". It is not clear what the author means.

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[131] 南懷仁 Chinese name for the Belgian missionary Ferdinandus Verbiest (1623–1688).

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[132] A popular Chinese encyclopaedia. Much of its contents are based on the traditional beliefs and myths.

religion, they expound the Three Vehicles[133] and the Six Paramita.[134] Later, when I visited the Imperial library Wên Ching Ko of the Summer Palace in Ch'êng-teh Fu, I found that all seven great halls contained innumerable books all along the four walls and rows and rows of books in the middle shelves. The northern side of the nine-room central hall *Nan mu tien* also had books piled up to the ceiling. So did the two side buildings which contained books piled up to five feet high. All the seventy buildings contained books in tens and twenties, and there was no place without books. It is said there were no books in duplicate copies. Altogether there must be at least ten car-loads of books. What then is contained in these books? According to learned men, they contain ultimately the expositions of the *Four Greats*[135] and the *Five Constants*.[136] I was then convinced that all teachings aimed at educating men in goodness. Since all of them are for the good of men, how could there be wrong and malice? I have even talked to some of those learned among the European and Moslem *kuei-tzŭ*,[137] [90] and found they too speak of the cultivation of virtues and self control. Certainly they do not teach the harming of others with selfishness. The conducts and speeches of their educated are just as quiet and gentle as ours. Furthermore, they too speak very clearly of the teachings of Buddhism and Confucianism. I also read the Mongolian translation of their scripture, and I did not find any criticism of the teachings of Buddhism. They only chastised those who practiced self aggrandizement in the name of Buddha, and those who deceive others, while themselves unable to follow the deeds of Buddha. Such thought is also prevalent in Mongolia. Those who call themselves disciples of Buddha and *Gegen*[138] and *Khutukhtu*[139] actually take arms in their hands and practice killing and burning, coveting the rewards and gratitudes of the Emperor, but some of them violate the laws of the state and are being punished for them. What a deplorable state of affairs when they take advantage of Buddha who is not able to speak up! In all the 265 vows of Buddhism, which one says kill and burn? Granted that there is a talk of a "salvation by killing" in the *dharani*[140] of the Greater Vehicle,[141] does it say that an ordinary monk who took ordinary vows can practice it? Furthermore, it is now clearly stipulated in the teaching of the Yellow Religion of the Je Lama Tsongkhapa, that if one truly attains the secret of the Vehicle of Dharani, [91] and wishes to practice it he must return to the life of a layman but keep his vow; only then is one permitted to practice the Vehicle of Dharani. If anyone go against this, he will violate the Imperial prohibition and the law of the church. Notwithstanding this law, now in Tibet of the west and Mongolia in the north, there are many of those *gegens*, *khutukhtus* and *jasağ* lamas[142] who received the vows of *Gelong*[143] and *Getsul*[144] and who don the robes of clergy who go to war. How can these be counted amongst the disciples of Buddhism? But then can we blame the crimes of these rascals on the Buddha? Again, there are those who read books and call themselves the disciples of Confucianism, who rebelled against their sovereign and usurped the throne of their liege lord, and there were those who for the sake of power practiced patricide and fratricide up to the present time since the time of the Warring State. At present there are still many cruel officials and corrupted ministers who obtained their positions through [state] examination of their book learning [i. e. their Confucianistic education]. Can we then blame Master Confucius for their crimes? How can we call them the disciples of Confucianism? Therefore, how can we not find evil ones in any religion? Those who piously follow their religious teachings, we call them the followers of that religion; those who go against their religious teaching, we call them the traitors of that religion. Again we say and believe, that only this our Middle Kingdom possesses humanity. [92] But are those prisoners who fill all the prisons of Fu, Chou and Hsien of all the provinces inhuman foreigners? Shall we then move away to foreign countries saying that the whole of our country is like that because we produced such criminals? There have been not a few cases of killing one's own father and sovereign in this heavenly Middle Kingdom; can we then agree if foreigners brand the whole of our Middle Kingdom like that? Therefore, prejudiced and false accusations are uncouth. This is precisely what I mean when I say that these selfish toadying Chinese scribes have dishonored the great work of the Master Chu Hsi-chih. Can one believe that all Mongols and only Mongols are evil? I hope the future savants will judge me, if I am prejudiced on the side of the Mongols. I believe that I am speaking without prejudice. It is therefore said in the *Great Learning* of the *Four Books*,[145] after explaining "the sincerity of thoughts":

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[133] Mo. *gurban kölgen*, S. *triyana*. Three ways of spiritual emancipation.

[134] Mo. *jirğuğan baramid*, S. *ṣaṣ pāramitā*. Six perfective virtues: alms-giving, clerical discipline, forebearance, energy, meditative concentration, and insight. Later this group is increased to ten.

[135] Mo. *dörben yeke*, Chinese *ssu ta* 四大 the four elements of Buddhist teachingearth, water, fire, and air; also of Taoism: Tao, heaven, earth and Sovereign.

[136] Mo. *tabun egüride*, Ch. *wu-ch'ang* 五常. The five constant virtues of Confucianism: benevolence, righteousness, propriety, knowledge, and sincerity.

[137] Chinese *kuei-tzŭ* 鬼子 "the devil". Chinese derogatory term used for foreigners.

[138] Mo. *gegen* "enlightened", respectful term used for incarnate lamas in Mongolian and Tibetan Buddhism.

[139] Mo. *qutuğtu* "Khutukhtu", title of the highest clergy granted by the emperor to eminent incarnate lamas during the Ch'ing dynasty.

[140] Mo. *tarni* S. *dhāranī*. Magic spells; charms, dharani, mantra.

[141] Mo. *degedu kölgen*. Mahayana Buddhism.

[142] *jasağ* lamas were high administrative heads of church and church-ruled estates.

[143] Mo. *gelüng* or *ayag-a takimlig*, S. *çramana*, T. *dge slong*. One who received the vows of gelong. A fully ordained monk in Lamaism.

[144] Mo. *gecül* or *buyan-u yosutu*, T. *dge-tshul*. A vow secondary to the vow of gelong.

> "'The cultivating of virtue lies in making one's thought upright' means: If there is anger or hatred [in oneself] the thought cannot be upright; if there is fear and anxiety [in oneself] the thought cannot be upright; if there is worrying and grieving [in oneself] the thought [93] cannot be upright; if there is desire and craving, the thought cannot be upright. If it is not one's mind, it will not be seen even if one looks at it, nor one can hear it even if one listens; even if one eats it, one will not know its taste. The cultivation of virtue lay in the making upright of one's thought."[146]

Thus chapter seven of this work explains the making of thought upright by correcting one's body. Next it says, putting one's house in order lay in the cultivation of one's virtue.

This means one is always partial to one's own, and human beings are partial to their contempts and dislikes:

> "one is always partial to those one fears and respects; one is partial to those one feels sorrow for and compassion; one is partial to those one is arrogant and rude to."[147]

Therefore, beware of faults when you praise, be wary of the evil but recognize its goodness. Only then can one make judgment of great history and great principle. It is a shame that these Chinese scribes, not having cultivated themselves and made their thoughts unbiased, tackled the great events of state, invented things and searched for faults. Therefore, in each chapter, I have rebuffed their biased judgment. I hope the savants will read them as a humorous account.

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[145] The *Four Books* is the Confucian classic and consists of *Lun-yü* 論語 (Confucian Analects), *Ta-hsüeh* 大學 (Great Learning), *Chung-yung* 中庸 (Doctrine of the Mean), and the *Meng-tzŭ* 孟子 (Mencius).

[146] The translation of chapter seven of the Commentary of *Great Learning* by James Legge is as follows:

"Chapter VII. 1. What is meant by, 'The cultivation of the person depends on rectifying the mind,' *may be thus illustrated*: – If a man be under the influence of passion, he will be incorrect in his conduct. He will be the same, if he is under the influence of terror, or under the influence of fond regard, or under that of sorrow and distress.

2. When the mind is not present, we look and do not see; we hear and do not understand; we eat and do not know the taste of what we eat.

3. This is what is meant by saying that the cultivation of the person depends on the rectifying of the mind." See *Legge* p. 368.

[147] (Legge translation)

"Chapter VIII. 1. What is meant by 'The regulation of one's family depends on the cultivation of his person,' is this: – Men are partial where they feel affection and love; partial where they despise and dislike; partial where they stand in awe and reverence; partial where they feel sorrow and compassion; partial where they are arrogant and rude. Thus it is that there are few men in the world, who love and at the same time know the bad qualities of *the object of their love* (underlining his); or who hate and yet know the excellence of *the object of their hatred* (underlining his).

[94] THE BLUE CHRONICLE OF THE RISE OF THE GREAT YÜAN DYNASTY

A SET OF EXPLANATORY REMARKS

PART EIGHT OF THE TOBCITU TOLTA

A Computation of the Birth Date of the Most Sagacious Master of the Teaching of Ju, Confucius, for the Benefit of the Future Savants.

It is said in the Chapter of *shih-chia* 世家 of the *Shih-chi* 史記 (the Historical Records)[148] that the name of Confucius was Ch'iu, his style was Chung-ni, and his ancestor was of the State of Sung (The Sung State during the Epoch of Various Dynasties). The father of Confucius was Shu Liang-ho, his mother was née Yen. Confucius was born on the White Mouse day, of the eleventh month, of the White Dog year, the twenty-second year of the reign of Hsieng Kung (Duke Hsieng) of the State of Lu (B. C. 550),[149] (When these dates were checked against the *Ch'un-ch'iu Yen-yi* 春秋演義 *Wan-nien Li* and *Shih-shih t'ung k'ao*, the year coincided with the twenty-first year of Chou Ling Wang, the twenty-fourth King of ancient Chou dynasty).

[It is said] Confucius was born in the city named Shu, in Ch'ang-p'ang Prefecture of the State of Lu. When Confucius played during his childhood, he played with long rows of sacrificial platters and dishes (tsŭ 俎 and tou 豆) in pretended rituals. When he was grown to adulthood, he served as a wei-li 委吏 (keeper of stores) and it was said he was upright in his thinking, accounts and thriftyness. He was later appointed as Ssu-chih-li 司職吏 (keeper of animal husbandry).

[Confucius] went to the State of Chou and asked about the ceremonies from Laotzu. When he returned from this trip, his followers grew numerous. When he was thirty-five, in the twenty-fifth year of Chou Kung, the year of the Blue Ape (the fourth year of Chou Ching Wang) war broke out in the State of Lu. [95] Thence, Confucius went to the state of Ch'i and became an aide to Kao Chao-tzŭ and met the Duke Ching. And when the Duke (Ching) wished to confer the land of Ni-hsi [Ni-ch'i], an intimate of Duke Ching, a certain Yen Ying, raised objections to this move and Duke Ching became suspicious and did not do so. Thereupon Confucius returned to the State of Lu.

In the year of the Black Dragon, the first year of Duke Ting, Confucius reached the age of forty-three (eleventh year of Chou Ching Wang). When Hsi-chih became very powerful and his lieutenent named Yang-hu usurped power, Confucius made up his mind not to serve the state as an official, returned home and edited the *Book of Odes* (*Shih-ching*), the *Book of History* (*Shu-ching*), the *Book of Rites* (*Li-chi*) and the *Record of Music* (*Yo-chi*).[150]

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[148] Ssu-ma Ch'ien (d. *circa* 80 B. C.), *Shih-chi* (The Historical Records), one of the Dynastic Histories of China.

[149] For a different date (B. C. 552), see *Legge*, Vol. 1, p. 59.

[150] The Confucian classics known as "The Five Ching or Canons" are: the *Book*

And his disciples grew more. In the ninth year of Ting Kung, the White Mouse year, when Confucius was fifty-one years old (in the nineteenth year of Chou Ching Wang), Yang-hu and Kung-shan Fu-yao [Kung-shan Fu-jao] seized the region of Mi [Pi] rebelling against Chi-shih (Chi family) and invited Confucius. Though the master accepted their invitation, he finally did not go. After Duke Ting vested the office of Tsai in the city of Chung-tu (chief magistrate of the town of Chung-tu), within one year neighbors in four directions all imitated [his administration].[151]

[He was] later appointed to be Minister of Works (ssu-k'ung) and promoted to Minister of Crime (ta ssu-k'ou). In the White Oxen year, the tenth year of the Duke Ting of the State of Lu, Confucius was fifty-two years old (the twentieth year of the Chou Ching Wang), he aided Duke Ching of Lu and conferred with the Marquis of the State of Ch'i at Chia-kou. The people of Ch'i returned the land seized from the State of Lu.

[96] In the twelfth year, the Black Female Hare year, Confucius was fifty-four years old (the twenty-second year of Chou Ching Wang). Confucius had Chung-yu [one of his disciples known as Tzŭ-lu] appointed a magistrate in the service of Chi family and ordered [him] to destroy three fortified cities and disarm them. But Ch'êng [one of the three cities] of the Mêng family was not destroyed and, although it was besieged, it did not fall.[152]

In the fourteenth year of Duke Ching of the State of Lu, the year of the Blue Female Serpent, when Confucius was fifty-six years old (the twenty-fourth year of Chou Ching Wang), the Duke Ching of the State of Lu appointed

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of Change (*Yi-ching* 易經), the *Book of History* (*Shu-ching* 書經), the *Book of Odes* (*Shih-ching* 詩經), the *Book of Rites* (*Li-chi* 禮記), and the *Spring and Autumn Annals* (*Ch'un-ch'iu* 春秋). The *Record of Music* (*Yo-chi* 樂記) now forms one of the Books in *Li-chi*, was sometimes added to those, making with them the six ching.

[151] As magistrate of Chung-tu, Confucius produced a marvellous reformation of the manners of the people in a short time. Within twelve months, the princes of the other states all wished to imitate his style of administration. Cf. *Legge*, Vol. I, p. 72.

[152] The text here is defective and extremely brief which defies comprehension. I quote here from *Legge* (Vol. I, p. 75) which describes this event as follows:

> ". . . One great cause of disorder in the State was the fortified cities held by the three chiefs, in which they could defy the supreme authority, and were in turn defied themselves by their officers. Those cities were like the castles of England in the time of the Norman kings. Confucius had their destruction very much at heart, and partly by the influence of persuasion, and partly by the assisting counsel of Tzŭ-lu, he accomplished his object in regard to Pi (費), the chief city of the Chi, and Hou (郈), the chief city of the Shu.
> It does not appear that he succeeded in the same way in dismantling Ch'ang (成) the chief city of Mang [孟]; but his authority in the State greatly increased . . ."

Confucius as prime minister. He executed Shao Chêng-mao for the sake of the state, and in three months the State of Lu was greatly improved. Whereupon the Marquis of Ch'i devised a scheme to send female musicians to the Duke of Lu, Chi Huan-tzŭ accepted [them] and the sacrificial meat was no longer being presented to the great minister, and knowing that the rites had been given up for beauty, Confucius left Lu for the State of Wei.[153] In the State of Wei he stayed at the house of Yen Yu-tsêu [Yen Ch'ou-yu], the brother-in-law of his disciple Tzŭ-lu.

When Confucius was on the way to the State of Ch'ên, he was mistaken by the people of the District of K'uang for Yang Hu and besieged under arms. The siege was lifted after the mistake was found out. Thereupon Confucius returned to the State of Wei, and stayed at the house of Chü Po-yü. In Wei he met the wife of the lord of Wei by the name Nan-tzŭ. When Confucius visited the State of Sung, Ssu-ma Huang-t'ui wanted to kill Confucius, thereupon Confucius went to the State of Ch'ên and lived in the house of Ssu Ch'êng Chên Tzŭ. [97] After living there for three years he returned to the State of Wei.

Duke Ling was not able to use Confucius. A certain Pi Hsi who was in the retinue of the Chao family of the State of Chin seized the district of Chung-mu and invited Confucius to join him. Although Confucius at first consented to join him, again he did not do so. Instead Confucius went to see Chao Chien-tzŭ, but having reached the river, he returned to Wei and stayed at the house of Chü Po-yü.

Duke Ling asked Confucius about the military maneuvres. He did not answer his questions. He then went to the State of Ch'ên. Chi Huang-tzŭ on his death bed willed K'ang-tzŭ to invite Confucius to discuss state affairs. But an intimate minister of K'ang-tzŭ objected to this, and K'ang-tzŭ invited Jên Ch'iu instead of Confucius. Confucius went to the District of Shê of the State of Tsai.

King Chao of the State of Chu wanted to confer the fief of Shu on Confucius and to employ his services for the state, but the Prime Minister Tzu-hsi talked him out of it.

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[153] This episode is described in *Legge* (Vol. I., p. 75) as follows:

> "The Duke of Ch'i said, 'With Confucius at the head of its government, Lu will become supreme among the States, and Ch'i which is nearest to it will be the first swallowed up. Let us propitiate it by a surrender of territory.' One of his ministers proposed that they should first try to separate the sage and his sovereign, and to effect this, they hit upon the following scheme. Eighty beautiful girls, with musical and dancing accomplishments, and a hundred and twenty of the finest horses that could be found, were selected, and sent as a present to duke Ting. They were put up at first outside the city, and Chi Hwan having gone in disguise to see them, forgot the lesson of Confucius, and took the duke to look at the bait. They were captivated. The woman were received, and the sage was neglected. For three days the duke gave no audience to his ministers . . ."

Confucius again returned to the State of Wei. Duke Ling died. The lord of Wei State Yeh wanted to invite Confucius to serve him, but then Jên-ch'iu was appointed to the generalship of Chi family and won a great victory over the Ch'i state; therefore K'ang-tzu invited Confucius and he came back to the State of Lu. Confucius was sixty-eight years old, in the eleventh year of Duke Ai of Lu (thirty-sixth year of Chou Ching Wang, the Red Female Serpent year). The State of Lu was not able to employ the services of Confucius to the end. Confucius himself by this time did not want to serve the state as minister. [98] Confucius edited the *Book of History*, composed the *Book of Rites* and corrected the *Book of Odes* and the *Record of Music* and wrote the chapters *t'uan* 彖 *hsi* 繫 *hsiang* 象, *shuo-kua* 說卦 and *wên-yen* 文言 of the *Book of Changes*. His disciples grew to three thousand, among them seventy-two persons who excelled in the Six Arts.[154]

In the fourteenth year of Duke Ai of the State of Lu, the White Ape year, Confucius was seventy-one years old (the thirty-ninth year of Chou Ching Wang), the State of Lu called a battue hunt in the west, and they found a unicorn (Ch'i-lin). The farm hands who participated in the battue clubbed it to death. When Confucius saw it he wept profusely. He compared that unicorn to himself and began to compile the *Spring and Autumn Annals* (Ch'un-ch'iu). The next year, in the White Hen year, his disciple Tzu-lu died in the State of Wei.

In the Black Dog year, the sixteenth year of the Duke Ai of Lu (forty-first year of Chou Ching Wang, on the Yellow Cow day of the fourth month) Confucius died at the age of seventy-three. The remains of Confucius were buried on the banks of the Ssu River north of the castle of the State of Lu. His disciples mourned him for three years before they dispersed. Only Tzu-kung remained near his master and lived six years by constructing a hut next to his remains. The only son of Confucius predeceased him. His name was K'ung Li and his style was Po-yü. Po-yü's son was named K'ung Chi, his style was Ssu-tsu, and the *Doctrine of the Mean* (Chung-yung) was written by him.

If one counts from the White Mouse day of the eleventh month of the [99] White Dog year, the twenty-first year of Chou Ling Wang, the twenty-fourth king of the Chou Dynasty to the White Ewe year, the tenth year of T'ung-chih, the tenth emperor of the present Great Ch'ing dynasty, according to the *Wan nien Li*, it has been 2422 years. Future savants should continue to count from this point on.

Confucius was born 471 years after the birth of Sakyamuni Buddha. Only 1800 years after, during the reign of the Fifth Emperor of the Great Yüan dynasty, the Yüan Shih-tsu, Qubilai Secen, Shên Wên-wu Huangti, did they confer the posthumous title of Ta ch'êng Chih Shêng, the Holiest Sage of Supreme Achievement. Previous dynasties had conferred posthumous titles on Confucius such as Duke this or King that.

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[154] The six arts are: propriety, music, archery, charioteering, writing and mathematics.

Note that in this book, for the sake of brevity, *ein kü* (like this) and *tein kü* (like that; thus) are spelled *eikü* and *teikü* respectively. There are a number of these types of abbreviation. I hope those savants will read them according to the preceding and following sentences. Those copiers of this book may follow the modern orthography and spell *eikü* and *teikü* as *ein kü* and *tein kü*. Also there are numerous omissions of the strokes for n, l, m. I hope the reader will be so kind as to insert omissions by ink and brush. Should the brush and ink not be at hand and a search for it will interfere with reading, then please paste a piece of paper over the head of the column so that it sticks out above the head.

CHAPTER VI

THE CONTENTS OF THE *KÖKE SUDUR*

The main text of the *Köke sudur* consists of sixty-nine chapters. It starts with the birth of Cinggis Khan in 1162 and ends in 1236, the ninth year of the reign of the second Great Khan Ögedei. The first sixty chapters are based on the life of Cinggis and his conquest and the other nine chapters on the beginning of Ögedei's reign.

At the beginning of each chapter, the equivalent Chinese dynastic years are given with the years of the duodenic cycles. The major events of the chapter are given in verses.

At the end of most chapters there are poems by the author and a commentary in which the events of the chapter are critically examined from the author's moralistic viewpoint. The deeds and actions of Cinggis and his cohorts are compared with the deeds and actions of Chinese historical figures.

A complete translation of the text at this moment is impossible owing to its sheer size. Therefore I present a translation of the lead poems of each chapter and a listing of the major events of the chapter, together with those materials of historical, folkloristic and ethnographic interest.

THE CONTENTS OF THE *KÖKE SUDUR* (KQ)

Chapter	Page	Heading	Notes
Preface	1	Original Preface	The author begins with a discussion of religion between Qubilai Khan and the famed Chinese scholar Chang Teh-hui. The author's views on Buddhism.
Tobcitu toltu* I	5	A Set of Explanatory Remarks. Part One of the Tobcitu toltu. Main Introduction to the Blue Chronicle of the Rise of the Great Yüan Dynasty	Birth date and other important dates of Buddha and Tsong-khapa. Birth date of Cinggis.
II	10	A Set of Explanatory Remarks. Part Two of the Tobcitu toltu.	The author sets forth his reasons for writing the KS. The difficulties he encountered. The author's criticism of his contemporaries for their ignorance of the richness of the Mongol language. The author refers to the twelve parts of the *Tobcitu tolta*.
III	20	A Set of Explanatory Remarks. Part Three of the Tobcitu toltu.	Personal genealogy of the author, beginning with Cinggis Khan. The author's complaints against Manchu policy for excluding the Mongols from the "National Examination" system. His criticism of his peers for their ignorance of their own history. His famed satire: "An Essay on Things".
IV	33	A Set of Explanatory Remarks. Part Four of the Tobcitu toltu.	The author explains the importance of reading his introductory parts. The author claims that he wrote a history, not a work of fiction. The reasons why the author faithfully recorded some "supernatural" magic and sorcery in his work.
V	45	A Set of Explanatory Remarks. Part Five of the Tobcitu toltu.	The author discusses his view in regard to happiness and suffering, and what he considers sagacity and stupidity, which leads to a discussion of the greatness of Cinggis and his accomplishments. The author's view of his own people.
VI	57	A Set of Explanatory Remarks. Part Six of the Tobcitu toltu.	The author discusses the differences between the Mongolian and Chinese languages. His hope that the KS will be printed and translated into Chinese.

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* See fn. 18 on p. 52.

Chapter		Heading	Notes
			The author's philosophy of life and his criticism of the vices of his contemporary society.
VII	68	A Set of Explanatory Remarks. Part Seven of the Tobcitu toltu. A Frank Essay on Distinguishing Prejudice and Falsehood.	The importance of knowing one's own history. The author's criticism of Chinese historians for their "bias and prejudice" against the Mongols. The author's views on the disputes between Buddhists and Confucianists. More discussions of the inaccuracy and bias of Chinese historians. His views on cultural differences.
VIII	94	A Set of Explanatory Remarks. Part Eight of the Tobcitu toltu.	Birth date and brief notes on Confucius.

Chapter Page Year	Heading	Notes
I p. 100 (1162)	A DIVINE PERSON WAS BORN TO THE WORLD BY THE WILL OF HEAVEN; HEROES AND TITANS ASSEMBLED IN THE ONE BY THE ETHER OF EARTH. When the Valiant Yisügei vanquished the tribe of Temegecin, The extraordinary virtuous Dowager Ögelün gave birth to the Heavenly Lord; When the Golden-boned[1] T'aitsu Temüjin avenges his father's murder, The resourceful *kölüg*[2] Moquli recognizes the Divine Lord.	Yisügei the Valiant helps to restore the rule of the lord of the Kereits (100–104); Lady Ögelün dreams of the Golden Deity (105); The birth of Cinggis (106); The meeting of Jelme's father with the new born child and the making of a special cradle for the child (110); The search for a bride and the meeting with Dai Secen (112–114); Yisügei's death at the hands of the Tatars (116); The dispersal of Yisügei's followers (118); The Lady Ögelün and the Story of the Five Arrows (118); Meeting of the famed Moquli (121); Temüjin avenges his father's murder (123); The Tatar-Taicud invasion of Temüjin's camp (125); Temüjin's capture by the Taicuds(126); Temüjin's meeting with Cilağun (128). Commentary
II p. 132 (1177)	KÖLÜG BOĞURJI DISPLAYS HIS VALOR AMONG THE HERD OF FIVE THIEVES; OYUTU-SECEN DEBATES DRINKING AMIDST THE ASSEMBLAGE OF SAVANTS. As the precious heavenly lord came of age and married Lady Börtegeljin, The strong and brave Four Kölügs gathered together and feasted in Burqan Ğaldun; The meritorious and sagacious Six-Ministers gathered to serve the Bête Nation; The meritorious Nine Marshals and other barons filled out the great dynasty.	Cinggis narrowly escapes the enemy (133); Meeting with Boğurji (135); The marriage to Börtegeljin (142); Jelme joins Cinggis (149); Temüjin presents a sable coat to the lord of the Kereits (152); The debates on the merits and demerits of wine-drinking (153); The orphan boy wins his debate against the nine marshals (155); Dai Secen's observation of those who attended the wedding feasts (157); Secen Böke cuts the shoulder of Belgüdei (160). Commentary
III p. 164 (1179)	ON THE RIVER KERÜLEN, THE PRUDENT MOQULI DIRECTS HIS FIRST BATTLE;	(Cinggis nineteen years old), Belgüdei calms Temüjin's anger (165); Buğural joins Temüjin (166); The Kereit lord again

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[1] Mo. *altan yasatu* "golden boned", a term used of persons of noble birth, especially for the royal clan.

[2] Mo. *kölüg* "steed". Four of Cinggis' famed generals were referred as Four Kölügs.

Chapter Page Year	Heading	Notes
	IN MOUNT TALĞUI, THE DIVINE T'AI-TSU SHOOTS A TIGER WITH A SINGLE ARROW. The far-sighted Jinung Moquli crushes the Taicud army after probing the enemy thrice; The peerless Qar-a Kiru smites Megejin Seger with his wolf-tooth club; The marvellous archer Cuu Mergen shoots down the rebellious Quljin; The fated Kölüg Boğurji meets by chance and captures the adversary Todisal.	loses his domain to invaders (167); Temüjin sends his generals and saves the Kereit ruler (167); Punitive expedition against the Mailji tribe (168); Samuu, Taicud and Tatar tribes plan a campaign against Temüjin (169); Temüjin and Moquli prepare for the defense (171); Moquli was appointed Jinung of the whole army (Generalissimo) of thirteen regiments (173); Great victory by the Mongols (174); Buğural captures the Samuu chief, Todisal (179); Temüjin executes the traitor Quljin (180); Moquli explains his strategy to his colleagues (181); Many tribes voluntarily submit to Temüjin, including the Ğorlud Jamuq-a (183): Irüger, chief of Julai tribe, invites Temüjin to a hunting meet (185); Irüger accepts Temüjin as his sovereign (187); Tatars attack Temüjin (187); (The legend of three-hundred Taichuds). (189). Commentary
IV p. 193 (1180)	VENGEFUL CHASES TOOK PLACE AMONG THE DEFILES OF MOUNTAIN AND RIVER; CLEVER STRATEGIES WERE CARRIED OUT TWICE AMIDST THE STORMS OF WIND AND SNOW. The extremely wise baron Jelme seizes the eagle standard of the Tatars; The gracious divine T'ai-tsu praises the services rendered by his six barons. The faithful generals, Jebe and Cilağun, decapitate Megejin Seger. The treacherous thieves, the Laiqad tribe, bring about their self-destruction by plotting rebellion.	Temüjin's generals defeat Megejin Seger and avenge Yisügei's murder by killing Orğul the Tatar (197); Cinggis' famed praise of his six barons (198): The birth of Joci; Background information on the Chin Empire (201); Megejin Seger's flight to the Chin (202); The defeat of the Tatars (209); The Naiman invasion of the western frontiers of the Bête Nation (209); Secen Böke's treachery (213) Temüjin's punitive campaign against Secen Böke (214).
V p. 224 (1182)	DESPOTIC RULER AND TREACHEROUS RETAINERS ARE THE ENEMIES OF THEIR COUNTRY. BRILLIANT BOY AND BEAUTIFUL MAIDEN ARE FATED ON HORSEBACK. When the predestined Son-of-Heaven T'aitsu lay wounded in the great snow; The ever-ready Four Kölügs shielded their lord with felt without shifting their stance. When the son-of-a-thief Secen Böke started beating [people] in a drunken stupor, His rebellious servant Boli wielded a sword and beheaded his master.	Cinggis rescued from a trap by his Four Kölügs (225); The death of Secen Böke at the hands of his servant (228); Mergeds submit to Cinggis; An archery contest; A second son, Cağadai, born to Börtegeljin (232); The Kereit Ilağu invades the Mergeds (234); The formal institution of the Four Kölügs (234); Jamuq-a advocates war against the Kereits (The famous statement of Jamuq-a to Cinggis) (234); Naimans invade Kereits (237); the Kereit lord again seek help from Cinggis (238); Jamuq-a was elected Anti-Khan (239); Mongol and Kereit united force besieges Jamuq-a at Ağu Suğudai (239); Jamuq-a succeeds in sowing the seeds of suspicion in the mind of the Kereit Lord against Cinggis (241); Kereits invade Naimans (244); Naimans defeat the Kereits; the meeting of Solunggu-a (the Kereit princess) and Altanšağ-a (the son of Naiman Khan) (249). Commentary

Chapter Page Year	Heading	Notes
VI p. 256 (1183)	THE FOOLHARDY POLĞUDAI OF THE KEREIT WAS ARROGANT TO THE ENEMY BUT HIS LIFE WAS SPARED; QUDAĞAN-A BEKI OF THE OIRAT SEIZED HIS MASTER'S REINS AND DISSUADED HIM. The gracious divine T'ai-tsu restored Kereit lord Toğuril six times; The treacherous Jamuq-a Khan detained the New Duke Ilağu for five days. The beautiful and clever Solungğu-a tricked Marshal Ch'ü Hsüeh-wü of the Naimans. The affectionate young Altan sent gifts [to Solungğu-a] via the *qosiğuci** Polğudai.	Naimans invade Kereits (256); Kereits ask help both from Cinggis and Jamuq-a (259); Cinggis sends reinforcements (260); Naiman invaders defeated (262); Altanšağ-a sends secret gifts to Solungğu-a (267); Kereits invade Ğorlus (268); the Ğorlud Jamuq-a in turn invades Cinggis (274); Jamuq-a falls into the trap of the Mongol army (278); All nine tribes of Jamuq-a's federation surrender to Cinggis (280). Commentary
VII p. 285 (1184–1185)	A NIGHTINGALE PRESAGES THE MESSAGE IN THE SWAYING WILLOW GROVES. IN THE NAIMAN NATION, QONGĞUR-JULA LEARNS THE MEANING OF FILIAL PIETY. Petty and treacherous Ilağu turns and befriends the rebellious Jamuq-a. Intelligent and wise Solungğu-a discloses the secret gift [to her father]; Deceived Marshal Ch'ü raises a great army of vengeance gambling his life. Möngkülji, the wise minister surmising what will happen, retires with a deep sigh.	The Kereit Polğudai captures Jamuq-a (286); Ilağu intervenes on behalf of Jamuq-a (290); Solungğu-a receives a secret message and gifts from Altanšağ-a (292); Belgüdei asks for the hand of the Kereit princess Solungğu-a; Kereit lord declines the offer (295); The legend of Arğasun Qorğulji, (299); Princess Secen Seciglig was born to Lady Börtegeljin (303); the Naimans again prepare an invasion of the Bête Nation (303); The maiden Qongğur-jula takes arms in her father's stead by disguising herself (307). Commentary
VIII p. 316 (1185)	THE SHAMAN IDAM RAISES A WIND-STORM IN THE BATTLE AGAINST THE BÊTE NATION. THE WISE MOQULI CHASTISES SIRI QUTUĞ BY EXPOUNDING [MILITARY DISCIPLINE]. Alas, truly faithful is the valiant Marshal Ch'ü Hsüeh-wu; Oh, how pitiful is the fate of the upright Captain Ider Tobu! The short-tempered general Siri Qutuğ gasped for breath; Resourceful Jinung Moquli's justice is delightfully appropriate.	Naimans plan fire attacks on the army of the Bête Nation, relying on the sorcery of the Shaman Idam (319); Heaven helps Cinggis to repel the fire attack (328); Ch'ü Hsüeh-wu, the Naiman general, commits suicide for his failure (331); Moqulai chastises Siri qutug for his disregard of military discipline (332); the Chin Empire sends the Prince of Wei, Yung-chi, as envoy to Cinggis (342). Commentary
IX p. 346 (1186)	HELMET-SHOOTING ARCHERY CONTEST AT TOLA RIVER AWES THE ENVOY OF THE CHIN EMPIRE. MARRIAGE ALLIANCE WITH THE IJILJI TRIBE BY GRANTING THE JADE BRANCH.* The little-minded Yung-chi, the Prince of Wei does not recognize Heaven.	Cinggis receives Yung-chi, the Prince of Wei of the Chin Empire (350); Cinggis displays his military might to the visiting prince (352); the birth of Ögedei (368); betrothal of Tunumal taji to Butu (371). Commentary

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* The vanguard of an army.

* Said of an imperial princess.

Chapter Page Year	Heading	Notes
	The crack-archer Boto of Ijilji finds [his fortune] at the opportune time. The T'ai-tsung Ögedei, born under sign, portends the fate of the world. The sagacious T'ai-tsu, the divine, predicts future events.	
X p. 382 (1187)	THE ENAMORED MAIDEN SOLUNGĞU-A LANGUISHES FOR THE NOBLE-MINDED ALTANŠAĞ-A. THE TRULY FILIAL QONGĞUR-JULA ASTONISHES THE TRULY GRACIOUS JINUNG MOQULI. While two nations engage in warfare, young man and woman engage in romance. Exchange of gifts takes place as the opportunities present themselves. Highly talented is the intelligent and knowledgeable maiden Solungğu-a. The unstable young Ilağu does not possess a particle of piety or loyalty.	The Ijilji tribe, being invaded by Jürchid tribe, allied with Saljiğud, Sacuğ-a and Tuuji tribes (383); Cinggis goes to aid Ijilji (384); Story about Öndür Secen (384); The invaders defeated (389); Toli's birth (390); The wedding of Tunumal Taji (391); Ilağu and Jamuq-a again plot against Cinggis and plunder Cinggis' winter camp (393); Solungğu-a intervenes for the prisoner Ider Tobu (397); Solungğu-a sends a secret message to Altanšağ-a (404). Commentary
XI p. 414 (1188)	HONEST IDER TOBU WEEPS OVER THE ROMANCE OF YOUNG PRINCE AND PRINCESS. GUILELESS POLĞUDAI HAPPILY UNDERTAKES THE MISSION TO ARRANGE THE MARRIAGE.	Qongğur-Jula's disguise becomes known to Jinung Moquli; and Moquli makes her his adopted daughter (414); Altanšağ-a deciphers Solungğu-a's secret message (422); The Naiman Khan asks the hand of Solungğu-a for his son Altanšağ-a (426); Jamuq-a's intrigue with

Chapter Page Year	Heading	Notes
	Lofty is the destiny of the filial daughter Qongğur-Jula. Correct are the interpretations of far-sighted Altanšağ-a. Praiseworthy is the act of broad-minded Oyutu Secen. Endless are the ruses of scoundrel Jamuq-a who deserves to be killed.	Ilağu against Cinggis (427); The Kereit prince proposes double marriage alliance with Cinggis (429); Polğudai, an innocent tool for this marriage plot (432); Cinggis accepts the Kereit proposal (438); Cinggis prepares for his visit to the Kereit (439). Commentary
XII p. 445 (1189)	SHAMELESS ILAĞU ENTERTAINS THREE TIMES WITH POISON ON THE KERÜLEN RIVER: TRUSTWORTHY T'AI-TSU REPAYS WRONG WITH KINDNESS ON MOUNT JIBQULANG. Through signal of the thumb ring, both the lord and his baron understood each other. The unprincipled father and son were roundly admonished. Alas, how ignorant and blind is the doltisn Kereit lord Toğuril. Cunning and treacherous is the unfilial New Duke Ilağu.	Cinggis goes to the Kereit (446); Ilağu fails in his attempts to poison Cinggis (447); Ilağu's final attempt to assassinate Cinggis fails; Cinggis escapes by taking the Kereit lord as hostage (460); Moquli rescues Cinggis (467); Cinggis magnanimously releases the Kereit lord (468); Cinggis returns the Kereit lord to his people with honor (471). Commentary
XIII p. 477 (1189)	JINUNG MOQULI CAPTURES THE LORD OF ENGGÜD IN THE PLAIN OF CAN-A. KÖLÜG BOĞURJI PURSUES THE KHAN OF JARUUD IN THE ULIYAN RIVER. Though the Tabunangs are dissatisfied with their heavenly descendant, Divine Temüjin;	Ilağu receives the princely title from the Chin Empire and assumes a Khanly air (477); Jamuq-a again plots the destruction of Cinggis (479); Cinggis invades the Enggüd tribe (489); Moquli defeats the Enggüd by a ruse (493); Ilağu's army again defeated (497); Jamuq-a tries to talk the Jaruud Khan Wangcuğ into war against Cinggis (501); Cinggis secretly informed of Ja-

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	One and all must surely know that he was truly holy and divine. Let those who dispute this fact pray reflect carefully in their hearts; It is the heritage of that Emperor that Mongols of all origin enjoy.	muq-a's plan (504). Commentary
XIV p. 507 (1191)	VALIANT BOĞURJI CROSSES THE RIVER AND SUBDUES THE SOLUNGĞUDS WITH FIRE. INGENIOUS MOQULI CAPTURES THE MESSENGER AND DEVISES STRATEGY FOR WAR AGAINST THE SOLUNGĞUDS. Words spoken truthfully without bias will be agreeable and long-lasting, Though those who lack vision may distort them into nonsense. Those who read only entertaining stories may laugh at history as farce; How can they [ever] examine the bottomless ten thousand things?	Cinggis invades the Jaruud Nation (507); Buğurji devises means to cross the Uliyan river (509); Buğurji directs the battle in Uliyan river (511); Cinggis besieges the city of Pai-sha ch'êng (514); Buğurji burns Pai-sha ch'êng using cats and sparrows (521); Fall of Pai-sha ch'êng (522); Cinggis spares the life of Wangcuğ Khan (524); Wangcuğ offers his daughter Jalasiy-a to Cinggis (524); Cinggis gives her as bride to the son of Buğurji (525); Jalasiy-a the princess commits suicide (526); 1192: – Examination of archery and horsemenship of young princes (529); Jamuq-a seeks alliance with the Solungğus (530). Commentary
XV p. 538 (1192)	JELME THE URIYANGQAI INTERROGATES THE COURTS [OF SOLUNGĞUS]. THE PRINCESS OF SOLUNGĞUS CLEARS UP INJUSTICE BY HER DEDUCTION AT THE	Cinggis and Moquli direct the war against the Solungğus Empire (539); Cinggis prepares to cross the Great Fox river (541); Jelme debates right and wrong in the court of the King of Solungğus (546); The episode of the cleverness of the Princess

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	LODGE. Brilliant as the sun of great intelligence, the heavenly descendant, the divine T'ai-tsu. Keen is the sagacity of Jinung Moquli who immediately judges correctly upon hearing the case. Broad and extensive are the knowledge of the educated baron Jelme. Clear is the moon of talent of the Princess Saran of the Solungğus.	Saran (556); Princess Saran's solving of a murder case (557). Commentary
XVI p. 566 (1192)	THE PRINCESS SARAN OF SOLUNGĞUS SAVES HER COUNTRY WITH A SINGLE LITTLE SMILE. THE NARAN KHAN OF ĞORLUS LOSES HIS TERRITORIES BY A LITTLE STUPIDITY. No enemy dares oppose the direction toward which the August T'ai-tsu marches. The fears of prudent Cağan Khan [proved] quite justified. Highly praiseworthy is every judgment of the filial Princess Saran. Extremely gracious Queen Secen's kind favors are indeed beyond all praise.	Princess Saran advocates surrender to the lord of the Bête Nation (567); The Khan of Solungğus meets Cinggis disguised as his own envoy (570); The Khan of Solungğus offers his daughter Princess Saran as consort to Cinggis (576); Cinggis weds Princess Saran (578); Cinggis forces the Gorlus to return lands seized from the Solungğus (580); Cinggis conquers strange nations (581); 1193: – Legend of Arğasun Qorğulji (585); Cinggis sends Moquli to Börtegeljin to explain his new marriage (587); The Lady Börtegeljin's understanding message to the Khan (590).
XVII p. 602 (1193)	THE DOWAGER QUEEN MOTHER FOREVER EXTENDS HER LOVING PROTECTION.	Jamuq-a wins the support of Jalitu Sultan of the Sarlağ Empire (602); The Sultan sends Cilger Böke to assassinate Cing-

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	THE GREAT QUEEN JÜSÜN DISPLAYS HER BOUNDLESS AND MATCHLESS MERCY. The splendid rising White Deity, his father, manifests himself and causes The merciful Dowager Queen, Mother of the World, to dream and The mighty and divine Cinggis was saved [from his mortal enemy]. Happy was the great virtuous *qatun* the Secen Jüsün Börtegeljin.	gis (604); The dowager Ögelün warns her son of danger because of her dream (608); Cilger Böke's plot fails (615); Cinggis again saved by Moquli's reinforcement (621); Lady Börtegeljin requests formal recognition of other wives (628).
XVIII p. 635 (1194)	WHEN THE ASSOCIATES OF THE SON-OF-HEAVEN WERE ALL ASSEMBLED, THE LORD-ON-HIGH SENT DOWN HOLY WATER; THE TATAR YABUQ-A SPOKE OUT OF TURN AND WAS EXPELLED BY THE ANGRY LORD. The heavenly father caused the birth of the divine Temüjin with various signs; [He also] cleansed and wiped out his treacherous enemies. When all the faithful associates were assembled around the divine mother and son, The Lord-on-High granted them holy water in a jade goblet.	The Dowager Ögelün grants formal positions to the wives of Cinggis (635); The praising of Cinggis by his mother Ögelün (636); The miracle of holy water (636); Final vengeance against the Taicuds (644); The gratitude of Saran to Börtegeljin (646); 1194: – The Hsia Empire sends a mission of goodwill to Cinggis (648); Description of the beauty of the queen Gürbeljin of the Hsia Empire (656); Sarlağs send Jamuq-a to Hsia Empire for alliance against Cinggis (662). Commentary
XIX p. 667 (1194)	JALITU SULTAN ASSEMBLES ARMIES OF NINE NATIONS AND PREPARES TO ATTACK BORJIGID. DIVINE T'AI-TSU SELECTS THE FIVE-TIGER-GENERALS, AND DECIDES TO DELUDE THE SARLAĞ. Strong sovereign and able barons are the gems of empire building; Strict discipline, generous rewards are the strength of military command. An upright Jinung, and generals who strive, are the root of victory over the enemy. Superior swords and strong bows are the secret in testing one's capacity.	Jamuq-a uses queen Gürbeljin's backdoor to win the King's support (667); The Hsia King consents to aid the Sarlağs with 2000 troops (670); Opening of schools for the nobles by Cinggis (672); The author's discussion of eclipses (675); Sarlağ Sultan declares war on Bête Nation (679); Moquli calms the anger of the Khan (680); Cinggis sends peace offer to Sarlağ Sultan (680); Cinggis institutes the Five Tiger-generals (684). Commentary
XX p. 697 (1195)	TO DEMONSTRATE HIS IRON DISCIPLINE, BRILLIANT MOQULI HAS HIS HANDS BOUND. TO SACRIFICE HIMSELF FOR HIS COUNTRY URIYANGQAI JELME CUTS HIS OWN SHOULDER. Marvelous is the sagacious lord who never mistrusts his own people. Admirable is the judicious Jinung who humiliated himself publicly. Behold the Uriyangqai Jelme who cuts his own shoulder for the sake of his country.	Cinggis appoints the five Tiger-generals (699); The Tanğud King rebuffs Cinggis' demand for reinforcements (700); Cinggis begins his expedition against the Sarlağs (701); Moquli shrewdly serves notice on Cinggis of his infringement of military discipline (705); Jelme arrives in the country of the Sarlağs (708); Jamuq-a proposes to the Sarlağ Sultan to eliminate Cinggis (712); Jamuq-a's strategy against Cinggis (714); Jelme uses ruses and burns the gifts brought to the Sarlağs (716); Jelme inflicts wounds on himself (717); Jelme accuses the Sarlağs of the crime (720).

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	Truly the gods were incarnated into the world to assist the rising dynasty.	Commentary
XXI p. 729 (1195)	ASTUTE MOQULI SURVEYS THE CURRENT, DISCOVERS A TRAP AND USES IT AGAINST THE ENEMY. MALICIOUS SARLAĞS WERE SURPRISED IN THEIR BEDS BY FLOOD AND FIRE AND THEIR NATION RUINED. The selfless act of one baron for the sake of his country, Produced four generals who were ready to sacrifice their lives for the majority. Laughable are the slow-witted three ministers of the Sarlağ Empire; Bravo for the young boy who guards the gate of the palace with tears in his eyes.	The army of the Bête Nation arrives in the country of the Sarlağs (731); Moquli discovers the Sarlağ strategy to flood his camp (734); Moquli directs a surprise attack on the Sarlağs (735); Alq-a and Süke present protests of the Bête Nation to the king of Sarlağs (739); The two envoys fight the Sarlağ guards (740); Sarlağ Sultan killed by the four Bête generals (742); Jamuq-a retreats with his 20, 000 Kereit and Toğmağ forces (747); The escaping troops destroyed by the flood of the Sarlağ river (748); the remaining Sarlağ forces surrender to Bête (748). Commentary
XXII p. 759 (1196)	AMIDST THE PERIL OF ROLLING BOULDERS THE GOLDEN DRAGON OF THE TRUE LORD MANIFESTS ITSELF. AS THE FINAL HOURS ARRIVE FOR THE ARCH-WICKED ONE, JOCI KILLS WITH HIS JEWELLED SWORD. All dynasties have witnessed the apparitions of dragons attending true heavenly figures. Generation after generation speaks of the divinity of the lofty Cinggis. Miracles of supernatural protection were repeatedly manifested. Leaving heritage for the future descendants was repeatedly commanded.	Cinggis rewards his generals (759); Cinggis withdraws from Sarlağ hearing the report of disturbance of his domain by the Toğmağs (760); The Toğmağs suffer defeat at the border (761); 1196: – Moquli uses hit and run tactics against the Toğmağs (766); Main army of Cinggis raids Toğmağ (774); Cinggis falls into the trap set by Jamuq-a (779); A golden dragon appears and saves Cinggis from rolling boulders (779); Moquli again saves Cinggis from the ambush of Jamuq-a (783); The destruction of the Toğmağ kingdom (785). Commentary
XXIII p. 789 (1196)	THE LORD AND VASSAL OF THE BÊTE NATION HERALDS NOBLE CUSTOM WITH ROSARY AND TUSK. THE FATHER AND SON OF KEREIT TRIBE DISPLAY THEIR GRANDEUR WITH VIOLENCE AND CRUELTY. When the golden branches became fully grown, all vassals rejoiced; The rosary of eighteen turquoises is a wise counsel of great ministers. The graciously bestowed deerhorn awl is an everlasting precept. Princess Solungğu-a's statements are indeed apt and proper.	Russian ruler sends goodwill mission to Cinggis with gifts and Cinggis reciprocates (792); Cinggis returns to his domain (792); Moquli admonishes fourteen generals for their neglect in letting Cinggis fall into an enemy ambush (793); Moquli presents Cinggis a symbolic rosary (796); Cinggis gives a deer-horn awl to Moquli (798); 1197: – Solungğu-a's longing for Altanšağ-a; Ilağu and Jamuq-a again plot against Cinggis (802); Ilağu assumes grandiose titles (805); Moquli captures secret agents of the Kereits. Commentary
XXIV p. 819 (1197)	IN THE TAS MOUNTAIN CONFIDENT MOQULI DESTROYS THE FIVE KEREIT ARMIES. AT THE TARAĞ RIVER, THE DIVINE T'AI-TSU MAGNANIMOUSLY SPARES KEREIT LORD TOĞURIL.	Moquli uses the service of the captured Kereit agents (823); Moquli discovers plot of saboteurs (825); Moquli orders retreat to Tas Mountain (826); Moquli uses the saboteurs to supply Kereits with false information (828); Jamuq-a plans his strategy on the false intelligence (829); The Kereit army

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	Onto the herds of wolves and hyenas showers a hail of rocks. In the middle of bloody battle the life of the [enemy] chief was spared. While he had the power to destroy but did not, truly a Son-of-Heaven [he was]. His hard earned virtuous deeds to this day we enjoy.	falls into Moquli's trap (830); Kereit Khan again a captive of Cinggis (842); Cinggis again spares the life of Kereit Khan (842); The chieftain of Cailji tribe surrenders to Cinggis (845). Commentary
XXV p. 851 (1198)	THE T'AI-TSU WAS CONTENT TO DECLINE THE KHAN'S THRONE OFFERED BY ALL. QABUTU QASAR AND OTHERS MINGLE THEIR WARM BLOOD AND TAKE THEIR OATHS BY LIBATION. Numerous are those in this world who repay kindness with vengeance. How few are those in this world who let anger pass with a smile. The seed of the lewd Kereit Wang was a daughter; The last emission of Toğuril, who deserves to be killed, alas, a son.	The followers of Cinggis implore him to ascend the Khan's throne (852); Cinggis firmly declines the offer (854); Reports of unrest and military movement at the Naiman border (856); The Naiman general Chü's intended surprise attack on the Bête territory fails and suffers a crushing defeat (857); Jamuq-a and Ilağu again plan vengeance against Cinggis (860); Cinggis sends Alq-a and Süke to Wang Khan to reprimand the ungrateful Kereit Wang (861); Qasar's territory attacked by the Kereits (862); Cinggis' envoy lectures the Kereit Wang (863); The covenant of Baljuna river (874). Commentary
XXVI p. 884 (1198)	THE DIVINE T'AI-TSU DEMONSTRATES HIS WISDOM BY HIS BATTLE AT QALJINA PASS. AT THE RIVER ĞALJIĞU ÖNDÜR SECEN LOYALLY ADVANCES AND MEETS HIS DEATH. The lord and the vassals of a rising empire are like dragons and tigers. The father and son of a declining nation are like useless trash. The loyalty of Öndur Secen's fearless advance will be remembered for generations to come. The coward in ambush Ülgü Jüntai deserves to be killed.	The blood of Cinggis refused to mix with his brothers (884); Qasar's family captives of the Kereit invaders (885); Report of the advance of Wang Khan's army (885); 1199: – Cinggis leads the Kereit army into a trap (892); Öndür Secen dies in his gallant efforts to capture Wang Khan (910). Commentary
XXVII p. 914 (1199)	HE CELEBRATES TWO NEW YEARS ON BATTLE FIELDS FOR THE SAKE OF BROTHERLY LOVE. A FAVORED VASSAL THRICE PREDICTS GOOD FORTUNE FOR HIS LIEGE LORD. Inborn are the "Five-Virtues"* of the sagacious T'ai-tsu. Native is the ability and supernatural intelligence of the favored Moquli. Loathsome are the conduct and behavior of effeminate Toğuril. Disgusting are the treacherous ruses of rotten Jamuq-a.	Jamuq-a plots to kill Wang Khan and make his son the Khan (915); Jamuq-a's plot is discovered and he takes refuge with the Naimans (917); Jamuq-a proposes a plan to Altan-šag-a to demand the Kereit Princess (922); The Cailji campaign of Moquli (923); Moquli congratulates Cinggis (924); 1200: – Injannasi's comments on the animosity between the descendants of Cinggis and Qasar (927); Moquli plays guessing games with Cinggis at a New Year's feast (931); Qasar feigns desertion from Cinggis (943).
XXVIII p. 949 (1200)	FORTUNE RUNS OUT FOR THE KEREITS AND AN EMPIRE FALLS AT KÜLÜN AND BUIR. FATE SMILES UPON THE BÊTE NATION AND THE NINE *ENGS* ARE	Ilağu's agent recruits Qasar's service (950); Wang Khan again falls into Moquli's trap (953); Wang Khan dies at the hands of Jamuq-a (957); Ilağu's flight to the Hsia empire (958); Cinggis conquers the Kereit Kingdom

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* See fn. 136 on p. 100.

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	FOUNDED AT TAKIM RIVER. Great is the fortune of the upright and strong divine T'ai-tsu. Masterful is the policy of assiduous Jinung Moquli. Fearsome was the death of the incapable Kereit Wang Toğuril. Bitter was the fate of the grief-stricken maiden Solungğu-a.	(960); Moquli offers his felicitations to Cinggis (970); Cinggis praises Moquli and Buğurji (974); The organization of the Nine *Engs* (division) (978); The great military maneuvers at Takim River (978). Commentary
XXIX p. 989 (1201)	THE GRACIOUS AND VIRTUOUS DIVINE T'AI-TSU UNITES KEREITS AND NAIMANS IN MARRIAGE. THE ABLE AND RESOURCEFUL JINUNG MOQULI SUBJUGATES WENGGÜB AND BÜTÜN-E AIMAKS. The importance of the time and date of birth from one's parents, First began to be honored by the command of the August T'ai-tsu. Benevolence and compassion towards the orphaned and widowed, Established in the days of the virtuous Lord, are institutions [extending] to the present.	Cinggis' birthday was celebrated on the Sixteenth of the fourth month (992); Jamuq-a persuades Naiman Khan to seek unification of the anti-Cinggis forces (994); The Naimans send envoys to Cinggis to ask his permission to realize the marriage pact of their prince and Solungğu-a (998); the Naiman invaders seize 50, 000 horses of Sain Böke Khan; Sain Böke asks help from Cinggis (1007); Naiman's offer of marriage alliance with Wenggüb rejected (1009); The Wenggüb chief Tacingqorlu submits to Cinggis (1012). Commentary.
XXX p. 1021 (1201)	RESOURCEFUL MOQULI TURNS A BOWL UPSIDE DOWN TO SIGNAL THE STRATEGY FOR DEFEATING THE ENEMY. THE PRUDENT MÖNGKÜLJI CUTS HIS HAIR TO DISSUADE THE MILITARIST POLICY. Those who possess great fortune and virtue never do anything wrong. But the ruinous plans of wrongdoers all go awry. Considerably wise and clever-thinking was the Taiyang Khan of Naimans. What a pity he was snared in the dark plans of Buluu Wang!	Report of Naiman mobilization (1022); Moquli prepares for the invading Naimans (1025); The Naiman Taiyang Khan sends his son Altanšağ-a to his brother Buluu Wang for military aid (1027); Altanšağ-a persuades his uncle to stop his father's war against Cinggis (1028); Möngküji and Tatatungğ-a fail to stop the Naiman Khan's war against the Bête (1033); The two loyal ministers demonstrate their point with a cow and sheep (1033); the Naimans declare war on the Bête Nation (1044). Commentary.
XXXI p. 1056 (1201)	JINUNG MOQULI EMPLOYS NINE PRECIOUS ITEMS TO DESTROY THE NAIMAN NATION. T'AI-TSU THE DIVINE SUBJUGATES NINE AIMAKS WITH THREE CUPS OF WINE.	Jelm-e receives secret instructions from Moqulai (1058); Jelm-e deserts to the Naimans (1059); Jelm-e bribes Naiman officers with precious gems (1060); Moquli skilfully employs the captured prisoners (1061); Naimans defeated completely and the Khan of Naiman killed by his nephew Kücülüg (1072); The Naiman Tatatungğ-a joins the service of Cinggis (1079); Nine new Aimaks join Cinggis (1083).
XXXII p. 1087 (1201)	BENEVOLENT T'AI-TSU SHOWS MERCY TO HIS VASSALS WITH GRACIOUS FAVORS. RESOURCEFUL MOQULI GRACEFULLY REPAYS TWO AIMAKS.	Jamuq-a sentenced to death and given to the Kereit Khan's son to avenge his father's murder; Jamuq-a tortured to death (1090); Cinggis takes up punitive campaign against Mailji Aimak (1095); The Mailji's chieftain's brother offers his daughter to Cinggis

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		(1096); Cinggis marries Silibolur to his brother Belgüdei (1099); Altanšağ-a joins the service of Cinggis (1109); Cinggis' followers again implore Cinggis to ascend the throne of Khan (1111); Cinggis attacks the Hsia Empire (1113); Buğural and Buğurji attack Li Chi-li: and Cinggis and Moquli attack Lo-tzŭ ch'êng (1114); Qongğurjula marries Sain Surtaltu (1117).
XXXIII p. 1120 (1202)	UPLIFTING BRAVE MEN AND WAYWARD* WOMEN IS THE GRACE OF THE SON-OF-HEAVEN. UNITING HANDSOME YOUNG MEN AND BEAUTIFUL MAIDENS IS THE COMPASSION OF DIVINE LORD. (*Mo. text gives *salang ekener* "wanton, impure". It is possibly a textual corruption of *sergüleng* "intelligent, clever", which would be more suitable to the context.)	The Solungğus king reports invasion of his domain by the Ğorlus Khan (1121); Cinggis orders Moquli to pacify the Ğorlus (1122); Moquli orders the arrest of Jaruud chieftain Wangcuğ and Bütün-e chieftain Ilğuğsan (1122); The Naiman Kereit and Wenggüb Aimaks were ordered to participate in the Ğorlus campaign (1123); Cinggis goes to war against the Ğorlus with 120,000 men (1126); Reports of insurrections of Jaruud and Bütün-e Aimaks (1126); Ğorlus Khan jails his own generals (1128); Bête and Ğorlus battle at Fox river (1131); Ğorlus Naran Khan's young wife captures Altanšağ-a (1133); Naran Khan captured by Qasar's men (1136); Altanšağ-a marries Solungğu-a (1142).
XXXIV p. 1146 (1203)	THE DIVINE PERSON, IN FOUNDING AN EMPIRE, UNITES HIS OFFSPRING WITH MERITORIOUS VASSALS. VILLAINOUS ARSLANG IN HIS RAGE PROVOKES THE HATRED OF HIS INNOCENT PRIME MINISTER.	New Year's ceremony (1146); Solungğu-a tricks her husband into taking Saiqan Kür as a concubine (1155); A number of marriage matches of the young princes and generals (1160); Roll call of nations and tribes which have submitted to Cinggis (1164); Cinggis follows Moquli's advice to demobilize those who wish to return to civilian life (1168); The Qarliğud Khan Arslang invades Bête Nation (1171).
XXXV p. 1174 (1204)	ARROGANT ARSLANG FORSAKES HIS [MINISTER] CAS AĞULA AND TRIES TO CAPTURE THE RED SUN.* ADROIT MOQULI CAMPS AT QAR-A KIKÜL, AND ENGAGES THE ENEMY IN THE SNOW FIELD. *or "The arrogant lion leaves his Cas Mountain to Capture the red sun."	Cinggis advances toward Qar-a Kikül to meet Arslang's army (1180); Description of Cinggis' appearance in battle (1183); Cinggis defends his military actions against other nations (1184); Ten generals fight in five pairs at the field of Qar-a Tosu (1188); Moquli uses ruses to "borrow" arrows from the enemy (1191); Snow arrival signals the ripeness of Moquli's strategem (1193); Arslang dies in battle (1198).
XXXVI p. 1201 (1204)	THE SON-OF-HEAVEN SHOT A METEORITE WITH A SINGLE ARROW. THE STAR OF EARTH DIVINES THE PORTENT OF THE GOLDEN UNICORN WITH HIS BOWSTRING.	Moquli discusses his victory over the Qarliğud (1201); The submission of Qarliğud general Cas Ağula (1205); Cinggis advances towards Tibet (1206); 1205: – Moquli advances toward Tibet in the vanguard (1206); The Hsia empire invades Lo-tzŭ Ch'êng and Li Chi-li (1207); Moquli secretly orders Tacingqorlu and Ilğuğsan to construct headquarters at the mouth of the Mong River (1207); The lord of the Qotung people submits to Cinggis (1208); Cinggis demonstrates his marksmanship and his

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		supernatural power (1211); The Tibetan King Künleg Dorji submits to Cinggis (1213); Nepal also submits to Cinggis (1215); The legend of the mystic unicorn (1217); Moquli, *et al.* conspire to have Cinggis ascend the throne of Qağan (1223).
XXXVII p. 1228 (1206)	BUDDHA AND HEAVEN BESTOW THE GRACE OF NINE AUSPICIOUS SIGNS OF THE NINE MORNINGS. DIVINE CINGGIS ASCENDS THE THRONE OF THE QAĞAN OF TEN THOUSAND GENERATIONS.	The great assembly at the mouth of Mong River (1230); The description of the completed headquarters (1232); The nine welcoming posts and the descriptions of the thirty-six nations and seventy-two tribes (1235); Cinggis asks for signs from heaven before he accepts the throne of Qağan (1242); The miracles of heavenly signs (1243–1248); Cinggis ascends the throne of Qağan (1248); more miracles (1249); How the name of Cinggis for the qağan and the new national designation of Mongol came into being (1251); Various honors and titles conferred (1252); The qağan bestows rewards and declares general amnesty (1254).
XXXVIII p. 1257 (1206)	THE FOUNDING QAĞAN INSTITUTES TAIJIS AND TABUNANGS FOR POSTERITY. THE DIVINE CINGGIS BESTOWS ON HIS FAITHFUL FOLLOWERS HONORS TO THOUSANDS OF YEARS.	The defection of the Chin generals Liu Chung-lu and Li pu to the Mongols (1257); The tributes of the Kings of Tibet and Nepal (1258); The Naiman Boluu declares himself to be Qas Qan (1258); The construction of the first Buddhist temple (1259); More marriages of the royal family (1261); The Qağan takes up a punitive campaign against the Naiman Boluu (1267); Solunggu-a defeats Kücülüg* (1271); Buğurji captures the Naiman Boluu in the battle of Örültü mountain (1272); The Qağan graces more ranks and honors to his followers (1274); Cinggis commands his great generals to make speeches (1276); The Qağan's proclamation to the world (1289).
XXXIX p. 1292 (1207)	THE LORD QAĞAN IN REWARDING ALL BEGINS WITH HIS OLD COMRADES. THE ALIEN NATIONS ALL SUBMITTED AND FALCON TRIBUTES WERE ACCEPTED.	Celebration of the New Year (1292); The Qağan's criticism of pompous ceremonials (1293); Rewards to Menggelig, Arğasun and others (1295); The marriage of Imperial princess Secen Seciglig (1299); The marriages of Joci and Cağadai (1300); Reports of the invasion of the border by Hsia Empire (1301); The campaign against the Hsia (1302); the Mongols retake Lotzŭ Ch'êng and Li Chi-li (1304); The capture of Oluğai (1310); The Hsia King pleads for peace with the offer of yearly tribute (1315); The Qağan accepts the peace terms and withdraws his army (1316); Cinggis snubs the Prince of Wei of the Chin Empire (1316); Submission of Cijilji, Idinar and Alağ-debeltü (1317).
XL p. 1320 (1208)	WHEN TODU WAS KILLED IN THE CITY OF ILTESI, HIS HEAD AND BODY TOO BROUGHT HARM. WHEN KÜCÜLÜG WAS CUT DOWN IN THE QANGĞAI MOUNTAIN, HIS FLESH AND BLOOD SERVED A USEFUL PURPOSE.	Altanšağ-a reports the activities of Kücülüg who succeeded in obtaining 30,000 men from Kitan (1320); Kücülüg tries to recruit aid from Moslem nations (1322); The Qağan takes up his western campaign (1323); The Wailan tribes surrender to the Qağan (1327); Kücülüg and To-

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* The author's spelling for Kücülüg is Ciüi cü liüi.

Chapter Page Year	Heading	Notes
		du fail to capture the town of Ili (1331); The garrison general Ba Bu submits to Cinggis (1332); Ba Bu lures Kücülüg's and Todu's forces into the town (1333); Todu killed in the battle inside the town (1335); Solungğu-a captures Kücülüg alive (1343); The Qağan grants Kücülüg to Altanšağ-a to avenge his father's murder (1343); The Prince of Wei usurps the throne of Chin (1345).
XLI p. 1347 (1209)	AMBAĞAI QAN OF THE SARTAĞCIN AIMAK KILLED BY THUNDER SWORD WHILE CURSING IN A FRENZY. LI AN-CH'ÜAN OF THE HSIA EMPIRE AFTER CAREFUL THOUGHT CAPITULATES TO THE HEAVENLY COMMAND.	The Hsia King concludes an alliance with Ambağai Qan of Sartağcin (1349); The Hsia declare war against the Mongols (1350); The garrison general of Oluğai city abandons the city to the Hsia invaders (1350); Ambağai Qan attacks Lo-tzŭ Ch'êng (1351); Ambağai fights a personal battle with Mongol generals (1354); Chinggis and Ambağai engage in personal battle (1358); Cinggis defeats Ambağai (1359); Moquli and Buğurji plan strategems against the Hsia Empire (1361); Moquli employs a Sartağcin force to defeat the Hsia army (1363); Buğurji captures the Hsia general Kao Ling-kung (1364); Mongol forces besiege the Hsia capital Chung Shang Fu (1367); Moquli threatens to flood the capital; the Hsia King surrenders (1367).
XLII p. 1378 (1210)	THE DIVINE CINGGIS JUST SPITTING ONCE SHAKES THE FOUNDATION OF	The Queen mother orders the Qağan not to conduct warfare for a whole year (1378); The

Chapter Page Year	Heading	Notes
	THE CHIN EMPIRE. THE RESOURCEFUL MINISTER AFTER A LITTLE COUNSEL DECIDES THE FATE OF THE MIDDLE KINGDOM.	Qağan confers reward and honor on his faithful followers but intentionally omits Buğurji (1379); The Queen calls the attention of the Qağan to his mistreatment of Buğurji (1381); Cinggis bestows special honor on Buğurji (1383); Reports of Chin unrest (1393); Jebe and Jelm-e sack Wu-sha Pao of the Chin Empire (1396); Mongol-Hsia united army seizes Tuan Chou (1398); Cinggis executes Chin general Li Yung (1400); Cinggis insults the Chin Emperor (1401); Cinggis declares war against the Chin Empire (1403); Mongol generals plan strategems for the Chin conquest (1404).
XLIII p. 1407 (1211)	(No lead poem)	The Qağan appoints Jambal as the vanguard of Jebe's army in the Chin campaign (1407); Cinggis conducts military training at Kerülen River (1407); The author mentions how horseshoes and dried meat, etc., first came into use (1408); Cinggis dispatches Jambal as envoy to the Chin Empire (1411); Cinggis rejects the Chin Empire's peace move (1416); Mongols attack the Chin Empire through Ta Shui Li (1419); The Chin army suffers a great defeat at Yeh Hu Pass (1424); The Chin general Kao Pao-yü surrenders to the Mongols (1425); Mongols occupy Hsi Ching and Hê Fu Chou (1429); The fall of Chü Yung Pass and the siege of Chin capital Chung-tu (1432).

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XLIV p. 1436 (1212)		Yêlü Liu-ko rebels against the Chin Empire in Liaotung (1436); The Qağan sends Ajinai Mergen for the conquest of Liaotung (1440); Yêlü Liu-ko joins the service of the Qağan (1443); The Chin Empire sends Wanyen Husha to punish the Liaotung rebellion (1444); The Chin general is defeated and withdraws his invading force (1446); The Mongols occupy Ch'ing Chou and Fu Chou (1446); The Chin general Shih-mao Mingan surrenders to Cinggis (1448); Cinggis seizes Hsüan-teh Fu, the braveries of Toli and Ceceg (1451); Jebe captures Tung Ching (1455); Cinggis and his generals discuss occupation policy (1457).
XLV p. 1461 (1213)	TRECHEROUS HUSHA HU REBELS AND MURDERS ONE YUNG JI IN A BLOOD BATH. THE DIVINE CINGGIS IS SUDDENLY ANGERED AND BATTLES AT SIRA MÖREN WITH SIXTY GENERALS.	Yêlü Liu-ko declares himself the King of Liaotung and a vassal of the Qağan (1462); The King of Hsia invades the north-western frontiers of the Chin Empire (1462); The Chin general murders his sovereign Yung Ji (1461); The Mongol army defeats the Chin army at Huai lai (1469); Mongols capture general Wang chi at Lu Hui ling (1470); The Chin general Kao Chi kills Husha Hu (1475); The Shih family joins the service of the Qağan (1476); Cinggis conquers twenty-eight cities; Chê Chou severely punished for resisting the Mongol force (1480); Cinggis besieges Chung-tu (1482).

Chapter Page Year	Heading	Notes
XLVI p. 1485 (1214)	DEEP IS THE COMPASSION OF THE LORD WHO WILL NOT EXTINGUISH THE OLD EMPIRE. MANY ARE THE TRICKERIES OF THE CHIN WHO DO NOT CHANGE THEIR DISHONESTY.	Cinggis camps in Shantung province of the Chin Empire (1485); Cinggis' generals advocate the occupation of the Chin capital Chung-tu (1486); Chin sends envoy to Yêlü Liu-ko for his service (1492); Chin sends punitive force against Liu-ko (1493); Mongol-Liao force defeats Chin army (1494); Chin pays tribute to Cinggis (1500); Cinggis accepts Chin peace terms (1500); Cinggis releases war prisoners (1502); Cinggis withdraws from the Chin Empire (1503); The Chin King decides to move his capital south to Pien Ching (1503); Cinggis angered by this move and orders reinvasion (1506); Moquli's army besieges Chung-tu (1510); Chung-tu falls to the Mongols (1511).
XLVII p. 1514 (1215)	DIVINE CINGGIS CONQUERS MIDDLE KINGDOM AND MAKES HIS CAPITAL AT TA TU. QUBILAI SECEN WAS BORN IN TA TU; THE REGION OF YEN CHING WAS PACIFIED.	The author reports the illness of his mother and her subsequent recovery(1514); Cinggis decides to make his capital in Chung-tu (1516); The garrison general Wanyen Chenghui commits suicide; His colleague Mu-yeh Ching-chung abandons Chung-tu (1525); Cinggis arrives in Chung-tu and names Chung-tu Ta Tu (1527); Yêlü Cn'ut'sai joins the service of the Qağan (1530); Cinggis discusses happiness with his sons (1532); Chung Liang Ching of the Kuan Chou was named as Shang Tu (1535); 892 cities were said to have been captured by the Mongols in five years (1548); During the ab-

Chapter Page Year	Heading	Notes
		sence of Yêlü Liu-ko, his deputy seizes his power, and Liu-ko asks help from Cinggis (1548).
XLVIII p. 1551 (1216)	THE FOUR ALIEN PEOPLES AND THE FIVE COLORED NATIONS WERE BEQUEATHED AS TEN GREAT FIEFS. THE THREE DUKES AND SIX MINISTERS FEAST AND DISCOURSE WITH THE NINE MARSHALS.	The Qağan honors the aged of the nation (1554); Cinggis grants his relatives and followers feudal fiefs (1556); The mention of three other sons of the Qağan (1557); Cinggis' maxims (1559); Troops are deployed to Liaotung to restore order in the domain of Yêlü Liu-ko (1571); Wang Chi's rebellion (1571); Capture of Wang Chi by Altanšağ-a (1573); Mongols capture T'ung Kuan Pass (1576).
XLIX p. 1583 (1217)	FOR HIS DISTINGUISHED SERVICES TAIBU MOQULI WAS RAISED TO THE RANK OF KUO-WANG TAIŠI. BECAUSE OF THE GREAT AGE OF THE QUEEN MOTHER THE WHITE PAGODA WAS CONSECRATED.	The Qağan prognosticates three ill omens for the year (1583); Cinggis raises Moquli to be Taiši Kuo-wang (Grand Tutor and Prince) (1587); Mongols invade Hsia Chou of the Hsia Empire (1593); The illness of the Queen Mother Ögelün (1594); The consecration of the White Pagoda and the appearance of hP'ags-pa Lama (1597); The pacification of rebellion in Yêlü Liu-ko's domain (1611).
L p. 1613 (1218)	TAIŠI KUO-WANG MOQULI CAPTURES SEVEN CITIES OF THE CHIN EMPIRE. THE IMPERIAL PRINCE CAĞADAI FLAILS THE MINISTERS OF HSIA EMPIRE.	The surrender of the Liaotung rebel Hsien She (1614); General Shih-mao Ming-an captures the Chin general Chang Ju (1618); Moquli besieges T'aiyuan Fu (1622); Cağadai besieges Hsia Chou of the Hsia Empire (1627); The Korean King submits to Cinggis (1635); the Mongol-Korean army attacks the Kitan at Chiang Tung Ch'eng (1637).
LI p. 1641 (1219)	THE SATISFIED KOREAN EMPIRE SUBMITS TO THE DIVINE LORD AFTER CONSULTING THE STARS. THE DOOMED WESTERN AIMAK INCURS THE INVASION OF CINGGIS QAĞAN BY DEFYING HEAVEN.	The Korean King pays tribute to the Qağan (1641); Reports of unrest in the Western Region (Central Asia) (1641); General Chang Ju conquers great parts of the Ho-pei region (1647); Cinggis sends envoys to Sala Ding (Saladin) of the the Western Region (1649); The Qağan's envoy killed by Sala Ding (1650); Cinggis conducts his Central Asian Campaign (1650); Sala Ding allies with Niye Li Ko and mobilizes one million men (1652); Mongols defeat the armed forces of the Western Region (1656); The episode of the Princess Huai Kuo of the Chin Empire (1659); Cinggis' invitation to the Taoist sage Ch'iu Ch'u Ch'i (1665).
LII p. 1671 (1220)	CINGGIS QAĞAN SUBDUES SORCERERS OF THREE CITIES OF THE WESTERN REGION. TAIŠI MOQULI SUBJUGATES MANY GENERALS OF THE SUNG AND CHIN EMPIRES.	War between the Sung and Chin Empires (1671); Cinggis besieges Bu Hua city of the Western Region (1672); The subduing of the sorcerer at Bu Hua (1675); The capture of Samarkand (1686); The capture of Wadulur (1687); Bowmaker and the statesman (1688); Yêlü Ch'u-t'sai and minting of the first coins (1689); The pleading for peace by Chin (1689); Buğural's death (1690); Cinggis' peace terms for the Chin (1695); Moquli captures Chi-nan Fu; Tung Ping Fu surrenders with six prefectures and 400,000 population (1697); General Shih-k'ui surrenders to Moquli (1699); Moquli advances toward Wu Fan Shan (1700).

Chapter Page Year	Heading	Notes
LIII p. 1704 (1221)	THE FOUNDING QAĞAN CONQUERS TEN CITIES OF THE WESTERN REGION GOING CRISS-CROSS. TAIŠI MOQULI QUICKLY SUBJUGATES THE SUNG EMPIRE EASILY WITH A SINGLE THREAT.	The Chin attack the Mongols with 100,000 men under Yen Ning (1706); Yen Ning killed by the Mongol general Quildar (1706); Cinggis captures Bukhara (1708); Sung sends an envoy to Mongolia (1716); drawings of Mongolian coins (1730).
LIV p. 1731 (1222)	THE VIGOROUS TAIŠI [MOQULI] AT THE AGE OF FIFTY-THREE BARES HIS FINAL THOUGHTS. CINGGIS QAĞAN AT THE AGE OF SIXTY-ONE EMPLOYS PHYSICAL PROWESS.	Cinggis makes a brief visit to Mongolia (1731); Moquli greets his sovereign for the last time (1732); Toli conquers U Ji and Mula I (1739); Princess Huai Kuo meets Tas (1740); The learned Ch'iao Ching-chen advises Moquli (1746); Moquli besieges Fêng Hsien without success (1749); Cinggis continues his victorious campaign in the West (1751); The author discusses the errors of the Manchu translator on certain dates in the *Kang-mu* (1757).
LV p. 1759 (1223)	THE DEATH OF THE VALIANT AND RESOURCEFUL KUO-WANG [MOQULI] IN CHIEH CHOU. THE END OF THE UNSTABLE HSIA KING TSUNG-HSÜ IN HSI LING.	The death of the famed Chinese general Shih T'ien-yin (1761); Moquli dies on his sickbed at Chieh Chou (1765); Mongols invade the Hsia Empire (1770); Buğurji's expedition in Kiptchak (1772); Sübegetei dreams of Buğural's spirit (1772).
LVI p. 1786 (1224)	THE COMPASSIONATE AND JUST T'AI-TSU, THE DIVINE, WITHDRAWS FOR HOME HEEDING SINCERE ADVICE. EXTREMELY BLESSED AUGUST QUEEN MOTHER, HAVING	Mystical beast prevents Cinggis Qağan's conquest of India (1786); Cinggis returns to his homeland Mongolia (1789); The Chin and Sung Empires conclude a peace treaty (1794); Queen Mother Ögelün dies (1800).

Chapter Page Year	Heading	Notes
	COMPLETED HER MERITORIOUS DEEDS, DEPARTS FOR THE PROMISED LAND.	
LVII p. 1814 (1225)	PETTY SCOUNDREL WU HSIEN REBELS WITHOUT CAUSE AND DISTURBS CHEN TING FU. THE SPOILED SON TA WANG OF HSIA LOSES THE HSI LING REGION BY HIS UNSTABLE ACTS.	Altanšağ-a besieges Hsi Liang city of the Hsia Empire (1814): The Hsia send a hostage to Cinggis for temporary relief (1815); The Chinese general Wu Hsien rebels against the Mongols (1818); Wu kills general Shih T'ien-erh (1820); The capture of the Kereit Ilağu (1833).
LVIII p. 1839 (1226)	PRINCE BOLU AND DAISUNDARUĞCI BESIEGE THE CH'I CHOU ARMY OF LI CH'ÜAN OF THE SUNG EMPIRE. PRINCES CAĞADAI AND ÖGEDEI BATTLE NANKING CITY DEMANDING THE YEARLY TRIBUTE OF THE CHIN.	General Bolu, the son of Moquli, besieges the Sung general Li Ch'üan's force in Ch'i Chou (1839); The author's discussion of Liu Pang and Han Hsin of the Han dynasty (1843); The sack of Kan Chou (1845); The destruction of Sa Chou (1848); The bravery of Siliyambu (1849); The capture of Lan Chou (1850); Yelü Ch'u-t'sai collects books and herbs (1850); The dowager Lady (Yelü Liu-ko's wife) Yao Li visits the Qağan (1853); Ögedei and Cağadai besiege Nanking of the Chin Empire (1860).
LIX p. 1864 (1227)	IN CH'ING CHOU FU TAIŠI BOLU DISCLOSES THE STRATEGY TO DESTROY THE SUNG EMPIRE. IN LIU P'AN SHAN MOUNTAIN DIVINE CINGGIS' WILL COMMANDS THE CONQUEST OF CHIN	Cinggis dispatches Egülen *cerbi* and Qatu-temür with 20,000 troops to invade Solungğu (1864); Liu-ko's son returns to Cinggis from Liaotung (1865); Li Ch'üan surrenders to General Bolu (1870); the Mongols capture Teng Chou (1873); Cinggis falls sick in Liu P'an Mountain

Chapter Page Year	Heading	Notes
	EMPIRE.	(1887); Cinggis dies in Liu P'an Mountain (1889); Sünid Kilügen Bağatur's lament for his lord (1890).
LX p. 1894 (1228)	THE FOUNDER DIVINE CINGGIS' REMAINS ENSHRINED WITH GREAT HONOR. THROUGH NOT HEEDING THE COMMANDS OF TAIŠI KUO-WANG BOLU, THE MONGOL ARMY SUFFERS A GREAT DEFEAT.	Princes and generals return to their homeland for the Qağan's funeral (1895); Four different burial places were designated for the Qağan's remains (1895); Bolu leaves his command to his uncle Daisundaruğci (1895); Toli spurns the offer of the throne (1896); Ch'êng the monk defeats the Mongol army (1898); Ögedei returns to Mongolia for the Qağan's funeral (1904); The Qağan's shrines constructed in four different places (1904); A list of strange nations who submitted to the Qağan (1907) (Illustrations)
LXI p. 1921 (1229)	THE T'AI-TSUNG QAĞAN ÖGEDEI ASCENDS THE ALTAR AT KERÜLEN ISLAND, AND INHERITS THE GREAT THRONE. TAIŠI BOLU RECOMMENDS SHIH T'IEN-CHAI TO ADMINISTER THE IMPORTANT AFFAIRS OF THE MIDDLE KINGDOM. (In the beginning of this chapter, after the usual listing of dynastic titles and years, the author has the following statement) ". . . For a complete listing of these strange nations for reference I shall continue to describe them in this section.	Continuation of the lists and descriptions of the strange nations with illustrations (1921–1930); Illustrations of mythical birds (1930–1931); Ögedei ascends the Qağan's throne (1934); The continuation of the romance between Tas and Princess Huai-kuo (1942).

Chapter Page Year	Heading	Notes
	The savants must judge themselves the truth or folly of these strange nations."	
LXII p. 1948 (1230)	T'AI-TSUNG QAĞAN ÖGEDEI SUPPORTS THE PEOPLE OF THE MIDDLE KINGDOM BY PUNISHING BAYANTAI FOR HIS BAD ADVICE. TAIŠI KUO-WANG BOLU KILLS LIU SANG KO AND CAPTURES FENG HSIEN FU AS HE PROMISED. [The capture of Feng Hsien Fu is described in the next chapter p. 1980.]	Princess Huai-kuo married to Tas (1958); Yêlü Ch'u-t'sai submits memorials on administering the Empire (1958); Taiši Bolu seizes Ta Ch'in Yuan (1961); Bayantai's plan to kill all the Chinese (1964); Ögedei's personal campaign in Shan-hsi (1972).
LXIII p. 1977 (1231)	POOR LI CH'UAN KILLED AT SHIN T'ANG IN HIS BATTLE AGAINST YANG CHOU CITY OF THE SUNG EMPIRE. UNSTABLE TSAO HUANG WAS KILLED BY BOLU IN HIS FLIGHT FROM THE TOWN OF WANG TZŬ CH'ENG OF THE CHIN EMPIRE. [Description of Tsao Huang is not to be found in this chapter.]	General Li Ch'uan dies in the battle of Yang Chou city (1977); Mongols capture Feng Hsien Fu with siege machines (1980); A temple in honor of Moquli constructed in Fêng Hsien Fu (1986); Yêlü Ch'u-t'sai appointed as *Chung-shu-ling* (prime minister) (1922); Invasion of Korea for neglecting tribute for seven years (1996); The siege of Ho Chung Fu (1998); Prince Toli's army captures Fang Kuan Pass and proceeds toward Pien Ching (2000); Vanguard of Bolu's army invades Chin through Mien Chou city of the Sung Empire (2004).
LXIV p. 2007 (1232)	IMPERIAL PRINCE TOLI WITH THREE THOUSAND MEN DEFEATS ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND	Mongols prepare the siege of the capital Pien Ching (2008); Toli's three thousand men defeat one hundred thousand men of Wanyen Hota and Ili Puko (2010);

Chapter Page Year	Heading	Notes
	MEN OF THE CHIN EMPIRE. TAIŠI BOLU WITH ONLY A HUNDRED THOUSAND MEN BESIEGES THE MILLION MEN OF PIEN LIANG CITY.	The author's lament on war (2014); Ch'êng Hoshang the Monk captured and killed by the Mongols (2017); The author's criticism of the Chin Empire for neglecting military preparation (2022); The siege of Pien Ching (2022); The Chin Emperor accepts the peace terms of the Qağan (2025); Mongols lift the siege of Pien Ching (2030); The report of unrest in Korea and the killing of Mongol generals (2034); Prince Toli dies on his sickbed (2035); The Chin Emperor abandons the capital (2040).
LXV p. 2044 (1233)	THE VALIANT MARSHALS OF THE RISING MONGOLS, BOLU AND SÜBEGEDEI, CAPTURE THE CAPITAL PIEN LIANG OF THE CHIN EMPIRE. THE BOASTFUL GENERALS OF THE DOOMED CHIN FU CHE KUAN NU HOUSE ARREST THEIR SOVEREIGN IN THE PALACE OF CHAO PI T'ANG.	Sübegedei pursues the fleeing Emperor of Chin (2045); The Chin Emperor arrives at Kui Teh Fu (2046); The coup d'état of general Fu che kuan nu (2053); the Fall of the Chin capital Pien Ching (2059); Fu che kuan nu makes house-arrest of his king (2063); The death of the valiant Chin general Ch'ieng sheng (2065); Chin Emperor takes refuge in Tsai Chou (2067).
LXVI p. 2069 (1234)	T'AI-TSUNG ÖGEDEI QAĞAN OF THE "DUMB MONGOLS" RAISES THE DESCENDANT OF CONFUCIUS TO BE DUKE YÜAN SHENG. EMPEROR AI-TSUNG, SHOU-HSÜ OF THE DOOMED CHIN MANUFACTURES CANNONS USING HUMAN FLESH.	Temporary respite of Chin Emperor in Tsai Chou (2069); The honoring of Great Confucius by Ögedei Qağan (2072); More about the renegade Wu Hsien (2073); The alliance of Mongol and Sung forces (2076); Sung and Mongol armies besiege Tsai Chou (2078); The Chin Emperor uses cannons made from human fat (2080).
LXVII **p. 2086** **(1234)**	FILIAL AND LOYAL BOLU TAIŠI WITH A SMILE ENUMERATES THE AUSPICIOUS SIGNS OF THE MONGOL DYNASTY. AI-TSUNG EMPEROR OF THE GOLDEN EMPIRE KILLS HIMSELF AND SEALS THE FATE OF AN EMPIRE.	Mongol-Sung allied forces besiege Tsai Chou (2086); Aitsung the Chin Emperor hangs himself and Tsai Chou falls to the allied invaders (2093); Taiši Bolu dies in sickness (2099); Sübegedei captures Wu Hsien (2100); The capture of Pien Liang by the Mongol and Sung forces (2101); Proclamation of new laws by Ögedei Qağan (2106); Tas appointed commander-in-chief of the expeditionary forces against the Southern Sung (2108). The author again notes the complexity of the future events and says that from this point each chapter will include the events of two years (2110).
LXVIII **p. 2112** **(1235)**	WANG HSI HSIEN OF THE LAST REMAINING CHIN CITY SUBMITS TO THE ROYAL PRINCE KÜNDÜ. THE MAIDEN KAO OF THE MIEN CHOU, THE MOUNTAIN FORTRESS OF THE SUNG EMPIRE, DISGUISED AS A MAN, MARRIES YU CHING.	Ögedei spurns the tributary mission of the Sung Empire (2112); The construction of Qar-a Qorin (2113); Royal Prince Kündü dispatched to Ssu Ch'uan province with 50,000 men (2114); General Tümentei ordered to advance through the Han regions toward Sung through Chien Hui (2114); The last of the Chin cities surrenders to Kündü (2116); The capture of Mien Chou (2122); The flight of maiden Kao (2123).
LXIX **p. 2137** **(1236)**	(No poem)	The Sung general Chao Fan neglects military preparations and instead indulges in poetry

Page Year Chapter	Heading	Notes
		(2138); Ögedei's court celebrates the completion of the Wan-an palace (2139); Ögedei praises Yêlü Ch'u-t'sai (2139); The capture of Hsien Yang city of the Sung Empire (2142); Yêlü Ch'u-t'sai's tax policy (2145); The learned Chao Fu joins the service of the Mongol conqueror (2148); The young prince Qubilai befriends scholars (2149); Ögedei tests Yêlü Ch'u-t'sai (2149); The valiant Sung generals, the Tsao brothers, die in Chi-kuan Mountain (2155); The Wên Chou garrison general kills his family and himself (2157); Young Cağan suffers severe defeats (2160).

CHAPTER VII

THE TÜMED MANUSCRIPT

The *Tümed Manuscript* of the *Köke sudur* (See chapter I, p. 5) consists of Books XV–XXIV, chapters 43–72 (Book XX, chapters 58–60 is missing). Each book contains three chapters; therefore we assume the existence at one time or another of books I–XIV, chapters 1–42. Book XV, chapter 43 of the TM, begins with the year 1206. In other words, chapters 1–42 cover the events preceding 1206. The KQ, i. e. the 69-chapter version devotes 36 chapters to the same period. Therefore, as far as chapter division is concerned, the TM has six chapters more than the KQ. We know that the author devoted some 18 chapters in his TM to the year 1206, and only 2 chapters to the same period in the KQ. In fact, the whole of the TM covers only the years 1206–1209, i. e. 30 chapters of the TM for the five chapters in the KQ (chapters 37–41). The following chart will show the years and chapter divisions of the two texts:

YEAR	PRINTED EDITION (KQ)	TÜMED MANUSCRIPT
1206	Chapter XXXVII	(Book XV) Chapter XLIII to (Book XVI) Chapter XLVIII
	Chapter XXXVIII	(Book XVII) Chapter XLIX to (Book XIX) Chapter LVII (Book XX, chapter 58–60 missing)
1207	Chapter XXXIX	(Book XXI) Chapter LXI to (Book XXII) Chapter LXIV
1208	Chapter XL	(Book XXII) Chapter LXV to (Book XXIII) Chapter LXVIII
1209	Chapter XLI	(Book XXIII) Chapter LXIX to (Book XXIV) Chapter LXXII

The TM is a very clearly and neatly written copy from the hand of the author himself. It appears to be a polished final draft. It is inconceivable that this is the original working manuscript of the author, because it would be almost impossible to write such an extensive work as the *Köke sudur* without having a manuscript cluttered with notes, marks and corrections, etc. I am inclined to think that Injannasi had another original manuscript of the TM and that what we have today is a clean copy of this original.

I have already touched upon the question of dating the manuscript. We know that the author worked on the TM as late as in 1891 before his death in early 1892. A comparison of the two texts will also convince us that the KQ is not an abridged edition of the TM, but that the TM is a revised and expanded version of the original *Köke sudur*.

Why did the author undertake this second version of the *Köke sudur*? How does the TM differ from the original? To answer the first question, we have no word from the author surviving in the form of the *Tobcitu tolta* as we do for the 69-chapter version. But our conjecture may not lead us too far astray, if we examine the second question. First of all, we do not see any marked reversal in the tenor of the author's writing in the second version. In the second version, the author simply expanded certain episodes in greater detail and created new plots, mostly out of his own imagination. If the author used more restraint on his imagination in the earlier edition, he was quite uninhibited in his second version. The following example will suffice to show this point.

In the earlier version, the episode of the visit of the famed alchemist, the Taoist Ch'iu Ch'ang-ch'un[1] to the Great Khan was described more or less accurately though not without embellishment. But in the second version, not only does Ch'iu come to the aid of the renegade Kücülüg (son of Tayang Khan Boluu of the Naimans) but he comes to the aid of the Hsia king by becoming the commander of the allied forces against Cinggis. Ch'iu convinces the Hsia king by demonstrating his magic power. This opens a new field for the author to adopt the fantastic miracles and sorceries from the *Fêng Shên*. I do not imply that the first version was free of fantasies created by the author, but that in the second version the author's imagination simply ran wild.

Since the TM is also incomplete, we do not know how those missing parts differ from the original, but what we have today in the form of the TM gives us some idea of how the whole work differs from the original.

We know that the author himself was troubled about the subject of myths and miracles, the historical authenticity of his works and that he tried to defend his position in earnest. Yet the author's revised and expanded version displays a complete uninhibition on this subject. The only explanation for this is that the author must have been convinced of the success of his first version. Therefore the second version reflects his readers' demands for greater details of the exciting episodes, of fantastic bouts.

By the time Injannasi undertook his second version, he was already considered a "genius" and his manuscripts were hand-copied and circulated. We know Süngwaidanjung, the author's only surviving brother, was a constant source of encouragement and an ardent admirer of Injannasi's works. It is not difficult to conjecture that the author must have received instigation from his admirers to write a new version in which the author could express more of his creative imagination.

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[1] Ch'iu Ch'ang-ch'un (1148–1227), the famed Chinese Taoist sage who visited the Great Khan in Hindukush in 1222.

Therefore, the TM is a completely new work based on the same themes, but greatly expanded and "rehashed". Despite the identical title and subject, the two works are quite different from each other. Inasmuch as the author based his new work on the old one, similarities do exist throughout the whole work and here and there a few identical passages exist, but the similarities stop there. Since many new plots were created and old ones expanded and revised, a list of such congruences would be a futile effort, lest the whole text must be compared.

There are a very few instances where the author made use of certain poetic passages of the 69-chapter version with little change. The following example is a prayer by Cinggis for rain to relieve a great drought:

In the KQ (Vol. II, p. 1244)	In the TM (Bk. XV, Ch. 45, p. 110)
Köke möngke tngri ecige-dür küji jula ber takimui.	*Köke möngke tngri ecige-yi küji jula-bar takimui.*
Kündülekü tngri-yin uniyar anu küli darui urmalatuğai!	*Köbegelekü tngri-yin ağur amisqul cağ dotur-a nairlatuğai!*
Kürügsen el-e ulus-un kümün amitan jirğatuğai!	*Kürügsen alila ulus-un minu kümün amitan-i aburatuğai!*
Kögerüküi ene ulus-tur qur-a boruğan orutuğai!	*Kögerükei ene olan-a qur-a usun-i qairalatuğai!*
Qağan möngke tngri ecige-dür qamug takil-iyar takimui.	*Qağan möngke tngri-ecige-yi qamuğ takil-iyar takimui.*
Qamuğ minu kürügsen ele-ulus-un ejed bügüdeger joğuğlatuğai!	*Qatan qağurai ğang qabsurğan agšan jağur-a urbatuğai!*
Qairatu bi ünen-iyer olan-i ejelekü qağan jayağatai bolbasu,	*Qalqai Temüjin kübegün qağan sağuqu jayağatai ünen bolbasu,*
Qangğaqu boruğan oruju Qamtu bügüdeger-i jirğağultuğai!	*Qangğaqui-yin qur-a usun bağuju qamuğ bügüdeger-i jirğağultuğai!*
To the blue eternal heaven the father [I] offer incense and lamp.	[I] offer incense and lamps [to] the blue eternal heaven father.
Let the vapor of the venerated heaven gather in the north!	Let the surrounding atmosphere become harmonious within the hour!
Let all beings of the nations be happy wherever I have gone!	Save all beings of whichever country I have been in!
Let there be rain in this pitiful country!	Grant rain and water to this pitiful multitude!
To the Khan eternal heaven [I] offer all kinds of offerings.	[I] offer the Khanly eternal heaven all kinds of offerings.
Partake, all ye gods of all the country I have been in!	Let the harsh and dry drought be reversed at once!
If poor me was truly destined to reign as Khan,	Alas! If it be true that the lad Temüjin was fated to be Khan
Grant us satiating rain and make one and all happy!	Let a satiating rain descend and make all beings happy!

The above example shows the improvements made in the TM by the author. In the KQ, the first line "... ecige-dür" was corrected to "... ecige-yi" which is more correct grammatically. The second line in the KQ "... köl i darui urmalatuğai! (to be enthusiastic about one's feet) is rather hard to understand and was completely changed in the TM.

The following is an example of how the author rewrote an episode of the 69-chapter version in the TM. When Cinggis was importuned by his followers to ascend the throne of the Great Khan, he would not accept this offer, and first insisted that he was not worthy of being a Son-of-Heaven. But finally he yielded to the desires of his followers and promised them he would accept the offer, if only Heaven would grant him miraculous signs attesting his worthiness. To the marvel of his followers, miracles happen one after the other. After nine such auspicious signs from Heaven, Cinggis was finally convinced that he was destined to be the Great Khan and ascended the throne. The author went into great detail to describe these "miracles", but we shall compare the summaries of these so-called "nine-miracles" in the KQ and the TM.

KQ Vol. II, p. 1248	TM Bk. XVI, Ch. 46, pp. 6–7
Terigün örlüge nige küji qoyar edür sitaba.	*Terigün belge nigeken küji arban cağ egüsbe.*
Qoyaduğar örlüge ğang-un qur-a amitan-i qantal-a oruba.	*Ded belge, ğang-un qur-a qamug amitan-i qangğaba,*
Ğurbaduğar örlüge anggilumal manang ceceg delgeretel-e bağuba.	*Gutağar belge ğurban toqui casuyi qailağulba.*
Dörbedüger örlüge jüse-yin qur-a cağ dotur-a arilba.	*Dötüger belge Altan ulus-un ağta morid irebe.*
Tabuduğar örlüge yisün kölüg öber iyen irebe.	*Tabuduğar belge emünedü ulus-ud botural bicig ailadqaba.*
Jirğuduğar örlüge belgetü salkin erdeni-yin cilağun ğarğaba.	*Jirğuduğar belge qubilğan garud Tümen-ü dumda bağuba.*
Doluduğar örlüge tabun önggeyin qubilğan sibağu dongğudba.	*Doluduğar belge cilağun-aca tamağ-a-yin qas ğaruba.*
Naimaduğar örlüge qada-yin cilağu öber-iyen qağaraba.	*Naimaduğar belge Kuan boğda Sakiğulsun-iyan iledkebe.*
Yisüdüger örlüge cağan gerel edüge-dür sacuramui.	*Yisüdüger belge cağan gerel edüge qarqan geigülün amui.*
The first morning, a stick of incense burnt for two days.	The first sign: A stick of incense burnt for ten hours.
The second morning, a drought-relieving rain satiated beings.	The second sign: A drought-relieving rain satiates all beings.
The third morning, a fragrant mist descended and made flowers bloom.	The third sign: Three-feet thick snow was melted.
The fourth morning, inundating rain cleared up within an hour.	The fourth sign: Horses of the Golden Kingdom came [to the Khan].
The fifth morning, nine steeds came to [the Khan] of their own will.	The fifth sign: Some southern nations submitted memorials.
The sixth morning, an auspicious wind brought forth a precious stone.	The sixth sign: A mystic *Garuda* comes down amidst the multitude.
The seventh morning, a five-colored mystic bird was heard.	The seventh sign: Jade for a seal appeared from within a stone.
The eighth morning, a boulder cleaved by itself.	The eighth sign: The Holy Kuan manifested his divine being.
The ninth morning, a white light began to shine [and is shining] up to now.	The ninth sign: [Then] a white light [appeared and] is still shining now.

The examples described so far are perhaps sufficient to illustrate the tenor of the TM. In my opinion, the 69-chapter version is much better writing, both in its content and style, as compared to the author's later writing. The TM suffers from the author's fantasy in content, and is prolix in style.

Despite what has been said, the TM is a valuable document with inherent merits. First of all, it will be invaluable to prepare a critical edition of the 69-chapter version. Second, it contains as much artistry as that of the earlier edition. Third, it contains much material indicative of the author's personality and view point and the social psyche of the author's contemporary society. Finally, inasmuch as the TM is from the hand of the author, it preserves the original style of the author and displays the peculiarity of his dialect and orthographical characteristics.

Although we do not know whether the author wrote an introductory section similar to the *Tobcitu tolta* of the 69-chapter version, the TM has five essays by the author on various topics, at the beginning of Books XVI, XXI, XXII, XXIII. Erdeni-togtaqu's pamphlet *Injannasi* (1958) published these under the heading *Essays*, but without indicating they constituted parts of the TM.

Let us examine one of the essays in the TM which bears the title "Cilağun dere-yin sigümjilel" (Beginning of Book XXII) (Tale of a Stone Pillow). Injannasi tells the story of his friend, the learned Lama Corji Damrinjab, who left behind him a stone pillow, an *objet d'art*, decorated with engravings; it was light in weight and easy to carry. The pillow in question fell into the hands of someone else when the owner died. The new possessor, however, not only did not appreciate the artistic value and beauty of the stone pillow but criticized its former owner by saying: "If only he had applied his intelligence and enlightenment to the meditation of the *Void* of eternal tranquility, instead of having this stone pillow embellished ...". Injannasi was angered by this statement and tells us that the second possessor, also a lama, proved by this very statement that he himself had not achieved the merit of the void of eternal tranquility. The new possessor of the pillow scoffs at the former possessor for wasting his intellect in having the pillow decorated, instead of devoting his whole thought to achieving the merits of the void. Injannasi ridicules the latter with the following anecdote:

> Long ago, there were two henpecked husbands who lived as neighbors. One day the husband of the east side family was sitting outside crying because his wife had beaten him for emptying her chamber-pot a bit too late. Well, the husband of the west side family asked the reason why he was crying . . . Upon learning the reason the husband of the west side family became enraged and raised his voice saying: "If it were me! . . ." Just at this moment, the wife of the west side family came out of her room, whip in hand. She sternly asked her husband: "What if it were you?!" Our brave man turned his head and saw his wife. Concealing his fear, he stood up, his hands around his back and replied with firmness and dignity: "I? If it were I, I would have emptied it a long time ago!".

Injannasi concludes that the second lama and the brave husband are of the same kind and that he has encountered numerous persons of this kind in his fifty years of life.

In the "Nomci-yin qağurmağ" (Hypocrisy of a Theologian) he satirizes many of the lamas who know very little about religious theory, yet pretend to be learned. He says:

> The speaker of Mongolian who comprehends and grasps [Buddhist] theology in Tibetan is as rare as a star in daylight and a rainbow at night. Yet these lamas developed an arrogance in sneering at those who study books [i.e. non-religious books]. While these lamas possess the outer appearance of the doctrine, they never attained its inner secrets. They [the lamas] know not even the names and numbers of their Buddhas . . . What a waste of human intelligence!

For purposes of comparison and further study of the TM, I am also presenting a translation of the lead poems of each chapter and a listing of major contents as in the KQ.

THE CONTENTS OF THE TÜMED MANUSCRIPT

Book and Chapter	Heading	Notes
Book XV p. i*	The first page consists of eight lines of poetry plus two lines of notes. The first four lines are those of the author, alliterating on *mö-* followed by his brother Süngwaidanjüng's supplement in the same alliteration. The two remaining lines are the notes of Süngwaidanjung which say: "The four lines of words of Güngsün ——— (?) of the Sidurğu batu qorugan of the Tümed Right Banner were supplemented by Güngsün Tsung-yü."	The whole manuscript is in the handwriting of Injannasi except a few insertions of poems and notes by the author's sixth brother Süngwaidanjüng. Güngsün is a Chinese surname: Kung-sun 公孫. The Chinese characters could also be interpreted as "descendant of a duke", i. e. of noble origin. It appears Küng-sun is used as a pseudonym by the brothers Injannasi and Süngwaidanjüng. Injannasi's name was spelled here in such a way that it defies correct reading. Tsung-yü 琮玉 is the style of Süngwaidanjung (See Book XV, Ch. 45, p. 151:9).
p. ii	The author states on this page that the events of the red tiger year (1206) were too numerous and that he had to devote 18 chapters to this year (the last three chapters of these constitute the missing Book XX). The author attributes the reason for his lengthy treatment of this year to the fact that this was the year in which Cinggis mounted the throne of Qağan and that there were thousands of laws and organizations plus the events of Sung, Chin, Hsia and other lesser nations and tribes to be recorded.	

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* Pagination of Heissig's plates.

Book and Chapter	Heading	Notes
Book XV Chapter XLIII p. 1 (1206)	Yüan T'ai-tsu Cinggis Qağan was forty-five years old. [He] was [born in] the Black Horse year. The Blue Chronicle of the Rise of the Great Yüan Dynasty: The Fifteenth Book. Forty-third Chapter; The first year of Cinggis Qağan of the Blue Mongol Empire. The Red Tiger year. The sixth year of T'ai-ho of the Reign of Chang-tsung of the Chin Empire. The second year of the newly changed K'ai-hsi of the reign of Ning-tsung of the Southern Sung Empire. Though the sovereign of India has not yet submitted [to the Qağan], The elephants of India submitted to [the Qağan]. Even before the birth of this divine lord, The early masters made preparations [for the coming of the Qağan]. Laughable is the weakness and spinelessness of Ning-tsung of the Sung, Even more so is the foolisnness and dissoluteness of the Huan-tsung of the crumbling Hsia. Amongst these only the Chang-tsung of the Chin could be called stable; But all of them will aid the T'ai-tsu of Yüan by exerting themselves.	The completion of the city and altar at Mong river at the end of preceding year (1–2); The construction of special warm quarters for the four elephants (2–3); The auspicious dream of the Qağan (4); Celebration of the New Year (6); The performance of the elephants at court (7); The appearances of the mythical bird at Mong river (8); The four *kölügs et al* request the Qağan to convene the Great Assembly at Mong river (10); The nation of Bête assembles at Mong river before the prescribed date (15); Jinung Moquli inspects the construction site (18); The description of the various quarters of the royal family (19); the Description of the great altar "Vajra Mandala" (Thunderbolt Altar) and the arrangements of various quarters of the headquarters (26–46); A Description of the territories of the Bête Nation and the geography of that time (46–49).

Book and Chapter	Heading	Notes
Chapter XLIV	(Chronology same as above) Forty-fourth Chapter. On they moved to the Mong River of Onon River, where Moquli's magnificent city lies. All nations implored the lord at Vajra Mandala, to extract a promise from the imperial mouth. A goblet of wine for the exhilarating chrysanthemum flower. A thousand lines of mind-expanding verses of the brush and ink. A heritage for ten thousand years of destinies and good fortune. An amusement for a hundred eons of everlasting deeds and knowledge. [Over the above quatrain, a note states "Elder brother Sung-shan's poem." Sung-shan 嵩山 is Süngwaidanjung's Chinese name.]	On the twenty-fifth day of the first month, Moquli *et al* request the Qağan to proceed to the new Headquarters; The Qağan departs with his entourage towards the new headquarters on the second of the second month; The description of the nine welcoming posts (62); The arrival of the Qağan in the new city and the inspection of the seventy-five national quarters (70); The seventy-five national quarters feast the Qağan in turn (75); The Great Assembly on the third day of the third month (76); The Qağan's followers importune the Qağan to ascend the throne of Universal Emperor; The Qağan at first rejects the proposal but gives in to the general demand with conditions (77); Cinggis sets forth the conditions of manifestation of nine auspicious signs from heaven (92); The first sign (93).
Chapter XLV p. 101 (1206)	(Chronology same as above) Forty-fifth Chapter. The divine lord requests auspicious signs for nine mornings and, Bestows great honors on his Nine Divisions (*engs*). The Heavenly Father sends a nine colored Garuda bird to the Qağan and, Graces [the Qağan with a] seal for reigning over all [people].	The first auspicious sign: An incense stick miraculously burns overnight (103); As the second sign, Moquli proposed to the Qağan that he should pray for snow because of the great drought (108); The Qağan agrees to this proposal and prays on the five *Mandalas* (110); The great snow; The Qağan has to pray again to stop the snow (116); On the fourth day, there appear nine white

Book and Chapter	Heading	Notes
	The ancient sage Ku was said not to be of his father's loins, though he had a father. The sagacious King Yao was in his mother's womb for fourteen months. The mother of the filial King Shun conceived Shun by staring at a rainbow. The present T'ai-tsu was born when Ögelün was covered by a white light. [At the end of Book XV, p. 151, there are eight lines of poetry by Süngwaidanjüng and two lines of notes in Chinese which state the date, 1890; and also Süngwaidanjüng's Chinese names.]	horses at the foot of the great altar (121); The Qağan dreams of a goddess who gave him a moon (123); An official of Chin brings with him four memorials (124); On the seventh morning, the triplet Mailji brothers present the Qağan with three auspicious creatures (127); When sacrifices were offered to the great sages of the past, the War God Kuan Lord (Kuan Yü) appeared in the sky (130); On the eighth morning the mythical bird which was reported previously appears in the court (135); The miraculous appearance of a piece of jade from a boulder (136); on the morning of the twenty-first day of the third month, the sky became filled with a perfumed aroma and bright light issued forth from the Qağan's yurt (150).
Book XVI	(An interesting statement by a certain lama Batu-ülji of the Asaran engkeregülügci Temple which reads: "A total of three cases of the Dynastic Blue Chronicle of the Great Yüan Empire [the work of] our seventh master the learned sage, Taiji of the fourth rank of Chung Hsin Fu, who translated and explained two Chinese works, namely the *Ta Yüan Ch'eng Kuo T'ung Shih* and the *Chu-tzŭ T'ung Chien Kang Mu* in Mongolian, to leave to posterity, in order to facilitate comprehending the	Book XVI begins with an essay by the author of his apprehension at recording miraculous happenings in his book (i–iii).

Book and Chapter	Heading	Notes
	rise of the Mongols and praiseworthy traditions. I the disciple of Asaran Engkeregülügci Temple, Batu-ülji wrote this note in praise.")	
Book XVI Chapter XLVI (1206)	(Same) The Lord-on-High grants auspicious signs in nine different ways on nine mornings. Divine Cinggis accepts the Imperial title bowing to the will of his multitudes. When will these true but incredulous events cease to be? Knowers of things to come beforehand have existed from ancient times. The Chinese Emperor T'ai-tsung of T'ang invited sixteen *Arhats*. The true heavenly T'ai-tsu of Yüan envisions the loyal God of War.	More miraculous happenings (1–5); Torğan Sir-a and Moquli beg the Qağan to ascend the throne by enumerating the nine miracles (5–7); Cinggis finally consents to be crowned (8); The coronation of Cinggis as the Great Qağan (11); The miracle of the crystal bowl and the holy water (12); The new name for the empire: The Great Blue Mongol Empire proclaimed (23); The Qağan receives the title of "Cinggis" and other honors (24); The posthumous honors for the ancestors of the Qağan (25); Imperial titles and ranks for the imperial family (26–27); Cinggis rejects the proposal to add an appropriate number of imperial consorts (38); Cinggis bestows great honors on his faithful followers beginning with Torğan Sir-a (39); Institution of Five T'ai-hsi ("Grand Tutor"); The Three State Elders (44); Moquli was conferred the title of Taibuu (Senior Guardian of the Heir-Apparent) and also the title of Duke (45); Buğurji, Buğural, Cilağun also receive the same titles of *taibuu* and Duke (46–47); Cinggis honors his mother (48); The Queen mother blesses her son and instructs him in the virtues of a ruler (49); Author's

Book and Chapter	Heading	Notes
		commentary on the auspicious *garuda* bird (52–54).
Chapter XLVII	(Same) The saintly Queen Mother honors the nine virtues of her meritorious daughter-in-law. The great feast of "the Double Throne Feast" was held by the Borjigid Emperor and the mandated Queen. Not many of the founders of the southern empires were ever descendants of a lord. This Emperor of the Sand and Dunes, his ancestors were rulers always. His authority and power spread over the universe and the Emperor extinguished the tyrannical and rebellious. If the heavenly father did not grant [the kingdom to the Qağan] who else could [accomplish this]?	The Queen Mother commands the assembled that the coronation of the Queen be held in great solemnity, in view of the exalted status of Queen Börtegeljin (60); The Queen Mother enumerates the virtues of the Queen and expounds on the virtues of women (62); The Queen Mother Ögelün also commands that henceforth all the queens must be chosen from the Qonggirad clan (74); The ceremony of the coronation of the queen conducted in utmost solemnity (75); Author's long essay on certain aspects of Mongolian marriage customs and his comments on the greatness of the Qağan's laws and institutions.
Chapter XLVIII	Borjigid T'ai-tsu institutes three grades of t'ai-fu ranks of the inner seventy-five nations. Divine Cinggis makes decisions on nine memorials submitted by fifteen territorial generals. Slovenly and unpolished though Mongols may be They are more ceremonious than the slavish Chinese. All these are the Commands and heritage of the Divine Cinggis. The ill-natured Chinese and the unfilial piety of the Tibetans Have been the object of contempt of the virtuous Mongols.	The marriage of Tolui (107); The Qağan orders the construction of three ancestral temples at Burqan Ğaldun (111); The roster of the seventy-five tribes in a chart (113); The Liao general Yeh-lü Liu-ko joins the Qağan's service. The institution of three grades of t'ai-fus (Assistant Grand Tutor) (119); Cinggis decides to aid Liu-ko in Liaotung and also to take up a punitive expedition against the Chin Empire (127); The submission of the Chin general Liu Pu with 5,000 troops (135); The tributes of the Tibetan and Nepalese kings (136); The conspiracy of the Naiman Boluu and his son (136); The Qağan discusses Buddhism and Confucianism (146); Qasar and Belgüdei bring three young royal princes in to the presence of the Qağan and request him for names and nominations of brides (148).
Book XVII Chapter XLIX	(Same) The Imperial mother clarifies the origins of Kiyud and Cegegen [clans] to edify [posterity], The benevolent Emperor admonishes future generations about the pitfalls of easy living. It is not at all false that men can originate from gods This Blue Chronicle records heavenly descents of two generations. Three of the great sages, the Five Ti's, were born in unusual ways. [These traditions] cannot simply be treated as idle talk.	The Queen Mother Ögelün clarifies the origins of the Kiyud and Cegegen clans (1–7); The Qağan expounds on the origin of his ancestors (7–14); The author discusses the divine birth of the Qağan (15–22); A complete roster of the great dignitaries consists of thirty-seven Heavenly Constellations and twenty-eight Planets and fifty-three Satellites; and ten territorial middle taifus (23–31), (a total of 128 persons); Jinung Moquli proposes strategy for the Naiman campaign (40–56);
Chapter L	(Same) The Imperial Prince Joci lays a wager under military procedure with Jinung Moquli. Taibuu Buğurji captures Qan Boluu by fire attack, borrowing the fire from him.	Moquli directs the campaign against the Naiman Boluu (57); Joci and Moquli wager on military strategy (62); Cinggis departs with his expeditionary forces toward the Naiman (71); The enemy is completely defeated by Moquli's strategy even before the Qağan's forces reach Naiman territory (72); The de-

Book and Chapter	Heading	Notes
	There are very few among qans who take upon themselves burdens and hardship Qans in the world are indeed rare who can compete with Cinggis. The true number of the forty nations that he conquered One may read in the commentary to the annotated *Three Words Canon.*	scription of Moquli's Naiman campaign; About Naiman Boluu, his son Kücülüg and Todu (74); Buğurji and Buğural's expedition (84); The Naimans attack the Mongols with fire (87); The Mongols defeat the Naimans by utilizing their fire (98); Buğurji captures Boluu alive (98).
Chapter LI	(Same) Under a noble and brilliant queen a noble and brilliant lady minister was discovered. The nine-tailed-fox Coijoilui squalled in front of the godess-of-the-highest-heaven. Simple and unpolished Buğurji Noyan uses the trick of returning fire for fire. The white haired Buğural Taibuu has the ability to signal his raising and sitting. Blundering Boluu Qan has the audacity to display his grandeur. Stupid and rustic Bor Arslan's heedlessness is his ruin.	Buğurji and Buğural capture enormous war trophies (102); The expedition of Belgüdei and general Temür against the Naiman (111); Episode of the heroine Saiqan küür (114); Saiqan küür disguises herself as the Princess Chin-luan of Hsia and turns back the Qotung forces (121); Saiqan küür wounds Kücülüg in battle (144).
Book XVIII Chapter LII	(Same) Thanks to his precious horse the stalwart Kücülüg escaped all death. Thanks to his precaution, ill-fated Todu escapes alive for the time being. From the time of yore when the Master Sun Wu-tzŭ first trained women for war, Until the present, there have been such maidens and women [who took arms]. Galloping on horse back is ordinary for the ladies from sand and dunes. If they distinguish themselves in skill and ability, there is no reason why they cannot fight.	Altanšağ-a offers a reward for the capture of Kücülüg (2); Kücülüg escapes capture (4–15); Joci's expedition against the Kidan prince A-lun (15); Kidan prince A-lun underestimates his enemy (18); Joci attacks the Kidan army (34); The Kidan army was completely defeated but Joci was not able to capture A-lun; Todu was rescued by general Üile, but the latter kills his rescuer (47).
Chapter LIII	(Same) As soon as the Kidan A-lun uttered a curse at Cinggis Qağan, an arrow pierced his ear and throat. The Naiman Wang Boluu, panic-stricken, blurted out the entire truth. Though an owl came to aid Todu and signaled him to escape, For this unworthy wretch, deeds contribute to losing his life. Senseless A-lun is killed by his senseless vituperation. The Imperial uncle Duke Ajinai demonstrates the grace of an Imperial uncle.	The Kidan prince A-lun dies under the arrows of Mongol bowmen (53); Todu escapes from the Mongol troops and stumbles over the Naiman Kücülüg (59); Trial of Boluu for the murder of his brother T'aiyang qan; the presiding judge was to be Belgüdei.
Chapter LIV	(Same) Base prince Boluu was tried and his confession of premeditated crime extracted. Prince Joci was punished for his wager as an example to the multitudes.	Belgüdei extracts a confession from Boluu Qan for his crime against his brother the T'ayang Qan (103); Altanšağ-a tries to kill his uncle (103); Cinggis banishes Boluu as a commoner (115); The Qağan lectures his followers on Liao history (121); Joci's command was rewarded

Book and Chapter	Heading	Notes
	Words are the key to open the lock of the heart. Truth is what one firmly believes deep in one's mind. If one's conscience could be stirred by truth-probing words, It is because there is one vein for all in self and others alike.	but Joci receives the imperial judgment. He was exiled to the far western domain of the Empire and his imperial title and grants were suspended for three years (143).
Book XIX Chapter LV	(Same) In administering justice equally for all, the true divine lord punished his own son. In stabilizing the family and ruling the nation, the illustrious Queen discovers an enlightened woman. There is but one illustrious woman among ten thousand [women], Whereas there are plenty selfish and vicious ones in every family. Forever in darkness shall he live who has not met anyone with an illustrious heart, I the writer am the one person who believes those of brilliant mind superior to himself.	The Queen mother intervenes on behalf of her grandson Joci (1–8); Saiqan küür was betrothed to Altanšağ-a as a second wife (18).
Chapter LVI	(Same) Taibuu Moquli, by recommending only two generals, was able to unite a nation. T'ai-tsu Emperor by conquering only the one Naiman, was able to subjugate ten tribes.	The two captured Kidan generals Juul Bağatur and Kecüül Toğsin were sent back to Kidan with Cilağun and Ajinai with 2,000 troops for pacifying the area (53); The Hsia Empire sends a goodwill mission to the Qağan (69); Cağadai dispatched to Hsia to aid the pacification of Hsi Liang (76); Cağadai takes

Book and Chapter	Heading	Notes
	The ten aimaks are: the Naimans and six wild borders Plus the Kidan Empire and the yet to be conquered Liaotung. The golden *Blue Chronicle* records the pacification of Liaotung by gracious consecration of [temples].	up the Hsia campaign at the head of 10,000 troops (78); The palace intrigue in Hsia Empire (80); Moquli also dispatches Jelm-e and Jebe as secret agents to the Hsia capital (84); Prince Cağadai arrives in Hsia territory; The Hsia King sends the crown prince to welcome Cağadai in Jirlus City (86); Cağadai reposes at Boluu wang's royal palace (87); Cağadai meets Princess Chin-lüan (102).
Chapter LVII	(Same) In the clear water of the crystal pool lustful desire was cleansed. The tender princess Chin-lüan was greatly moved by the Imperial proclamation. Divine Cinggis unites the scattered and reigns with compassion, The mandated queen mother grants a crystal insignia to alert short-sighted women. The three immortals of fortune and favor join the sworn couple, who were mourning. The "Old man of the moon" of the crystal palace unites the beloved man and wife.	The romantic reunion of Cağadai and the Princess Chin-lüan (104); Cağadai marries Chin-lüan secretly (106); The decree of the Queen mother Ögelün in which she praises the Queen and a virtuous woman such as the Princess Solungğu-a; honorary title and crystal rank insignia were granted (138).
	(Book XX missing; it should consist of chapters: LVIII, LIX and LX.)	
Book XXI	(Book XXI begins with an essay by the author in which he criticizes the mythicizing of historical facts by certain	This essay also appeared separately in Erdeni-toğtaqu's *Injannasi* (1958), pp. 51–53 with the title: "Nom ba bicig"

Book and Chapter	Heading	Notes
	writers.)	(“Scripture and Book”), slightly abridged.
Chapter LXI (1207)	The Red Female Hare Year Begins Here. The T'ai-tsu Cinggis Qağan of the Yüan Empire has Reached Forty-Six Years. The Blue Chronicle of the Rise of the Great Yüan Dynasty. The Twenty-first Book. Sixty-first Chapter. The Second Year of Cinggis Qağan of the Great Blue Mongol Empire. Red Female Hare Year. The Seventh Year of T'ai-ho of the Reign of Chang-tsung of the Chin Empire. The Third Year of K'ai-hsi of the Reign of Ning-tsung of the Southern Sung Empire. Divine Cinggis refuses to destroy the Chin Empire by groundless military action. The stubborn Ambaqai scorns disunited tribes and causes distant frontiers to come within the [Qağan's] hunting grounds. In founding a world empire a superior lord is needed. In ruling high and low in peace a divine being is born. In quelling the arrogant and aggressive ones, skillful generals are needed. Those who are able to discriminate order and ranks are entrusted by the magnanimous lord to govern.	Despite the wishes of his followers Cinggis refuses to wage war against the Chin Empire without some legitimate cause (3); The New Year festival at the Qağan's court (6); Cinggis criticizes pompous imperial trappings (10); The Qağan orders the feasting of distant guests to be held first (13); A series of marriages takes place by Imperial order (20); The report of subversive activities of Hsia Empire (22); About Todu and Küčülüg's activities (26); Ambaqai Qan of the Sartağcin (31); Küčülüg concludes marriage alliance with Ambaqai Qan (40); Ambaqai recruits neighboring tribes in an anti-Cinggis campaign (44); Cinggis takes up the Hsia campaign once more (48).

Book and Chapter	Heading	Notes
Chapter LXII	The Second Part of the Red Female Hare Year. (Same chronology) The Imperial Son-In-Law Butu employs both hard and soft means in capturing two cities. The Royal Prince Cağadai seizes Oluğai city with valor and strong will. On the white snow, the drops of crimson red blood, The green vines of the stone fence bloomed instantly. The tender bud shines under packed snowflakes in the morning sun The bright glass window reflects the garden beyond.	The vanguard of the Mongol force led by Cağadai and Butu goes to rescue Li Chi-li and Jirlus (53); the Hsia army attacks both cities under the command of Marshal Li Yung-fu with 50,000 men (54); Butu goes to relieve Li Chi-li (54); Cağadai's force goes to relieve Jirlus; Butu destroys the Hsia force at Li Chi-li (55); Butu's force joins Cağadai (57); Hsia prisoners aid the capture of Jirlus (60); Cinggis arrives in Li-Chi-li (68); Cinggis proceeds toward Jirlus (70); Hsia citizens along the way welcome the Qağan (70); Cinggis releases the captured Hsia Marshal Li Yung-fu (87); Mongols capture Oluğai (87); (The author quotes Sağang Secen on the episode of Cağadai's capture of Oluğai) (91); The Hsia king dispatches a peace mission to Cinggis (91); Recapitulation of the events in Hsia and the activities of Todu and Küčülüg (92); Cinggis accepts the submission of the Hsia (101).
Chapter LXIII	The Third Part of the Red Female Hare Year (Same chronology) The Ning-tsung of Sung Empire was not perturbed at the upheaval in the Shu region. The T'ai-tsu of Yüan at once prays for rain to relieve the great drought in Hsia. In search of their own gain, the Southern Sung wasted their wealth and weakened their	Happenings in the Sung and Chin empires: On Ch'iu Ch'ung and Han Ni-chou (107); On the Prince of Shu, Wu Hsi, and his insurrection against the Sung (108); The death of Wu Hsi (124); More about Han Ni-chou and the happenings in the Chin empire; Great drought and disaster of locust in the Sung empire (140); Cinggis prays for rain and relieves great drought in his domain (141).

Book and Chapter	Heading	Notes
	strength. The powerful Chin fought hard opposing the enemy and were in turn victorious. The doomed Hsia broke their peace pact and now are forced to acknowledge wrong. The mighty Mongol full of compassion forgets wrong and forgives the culprit.	
Book XXII	Book XXII begins with an essay in which the author criticizes the lamas of his time for not letting their novices study general literature (i–iv); followed by an essay entitled "Cilagun der-e-yin sedüb sigümjilel" (An Essay on a Stone Pillow) in which the author satirizes certain learned lamas of his time (v–vii).	Both of these essays were republished in Erdeni-toğtaqu's *Injannasi* (1958), pp. 33–39.
Chapter LXIV	Part Four of the Red Female Hare Year. (Same Chronology) Thanks to the brilliance of the Queen *Née* Yang, the two rebels were annihilated. Thanks to the benevolence of Prince Joci, tribes of the Northern Continent were pacified. Although the disaster of drought is not uniform in the South and North, This year's drought was said to be universal and widespread. All creatures hoped and prayed for rain but rain did not fall; and not until	The Qağan dreams the same dream three times (2); Joci conquers a number of peoples in the north (3); Happenings in the Southern Sung Empire (5).

Book and Chapter	Heading	Notes
	The golden colored divine lord opened his mouth, was the drought instantly relieved.	
Chypter LXV (1208)	Yellow Dragon Year (1208). The Ning-tsung Emperor of the Sung Empire changes the Reign Title to Chia Ting. Cinggis Qağan was Forty-Seven Years Old. The Blue Chronicle of the Great Yüan Dynasty. Book Twenty-two. Third Year of Cinggis Qağan of the Great Blue Mongol Empire. Yellow Dragon Year. The Eighth Year of T'ai-ho of Chang-tsung of the Middle Chin Empire. (Chang-tsung dies this year). The Southern Sung Empire's Ning-tsung changes the reign title to Chia Ting and it becomes Chia Ting First Year. Thanks to the dream dreamt by the fortunate one, the whole Mongol nation became immunized. Thanks to the many blunders, the doomed Sung causes turmoil and accepts the blame. The chronicler Jung-t'ing was born on the dog hour of the sixteenth day of the fourth month. On this fifty-fifth birth day drought-relieving rain permeated. On this auspicious day for myself the garden of all	To reward the successful campaign of Joci, the Qağan shortens the period of his exile by half a year and restores his imperial titles (54); Warm weather arrives early in Mongolia this year and there was a dense fog for three days; Cinggis asks his elder statesmen to interpret this unusual phenomena (54–63); Cinggis orders his people to camp around or near lakes and rivers to avoid predicted plagues (64); Cinggis trains medical personnel for preventive measures (64); The successful immunization of the whole people (65–81); Happenings in the Sung and Chin Empires (81).

Book and Chapter	Heading	Notes
	creatures rejoiced at the delightful downfall. May the holy lord forever spread among the Mongols!	
Chapter LXVI	(Same chronology) Incidents come to an end and the warfare ceases, thanks to the benevolence of Ning-tsung of the Sung. His time up, and his burden relieved, the will of Chang-tsung of Chin is sad. It is easy to change reign titles but difficult to change policy. Though the villains were exterminated, it is difficult to get rid of old habits. Interminable treacheries are the tradition of the Sung, generation after generation. If one makes a summary judgment, the cause lies in their unenlightened sovereigns.	Peace between the Chin and Sung empires and the withdrawal of Chin invading forces from Sung (104); Ch'iu Ch'ung dies from sickness (105); Chin goodwill mission to Sung empire (114); The Chin emperor's will (120); The Prince of Wei ascends the throne of the Chin empire (124); The new emperor's daughter Chen-chu, the Princess of Ch'i-kuo (131); On the Happenings of the Sung empire (139); The birth of Möngke, the son of Tolui (142); Report of Todu of the Naiman and his seizure of the Russian tributary mission to Cinggis (144); Cinggis' punitive campaign against Todu on the Iltish river (150).
Book XXIII	Book XXIII begins with an essay by the author in which he discusses professional jealousies prevalent among his contemporaries (i–v).	The same essay was published under the title "Üjel sanağ-a-yi ni ese medebe" in Erdeni-toğtaqu's *Injannasi* (1958), pp. 42–47.
Chapter LXVII	(Same chronology) The chief and his assistants of the Wailan tribe discuss the ten wonders of the Mongol Empire. Torbi Mergen and his son attest to the fact that Cinggis has three eyes.	The submission of the Wailan tribe (20); Recapitulation of Todu's activities (3); the origin of the Wailan tribe (5); The discussion of the Wailan chief and his assistants on the advisability of submission to the Mongol Empire (8–26); Küčülüg and Todu's plan to seize Ili city and their failure (46).

Book and Chapter	Heading	Notes
	Radiance of silvery clouds penetrates the crystal window; And it illuminates the history of Yüan on the desk I bow over; To compile and edit, I sing in verses; Pray imagine this scene, ye future savants!	
Chapter LXVIII	The events of the last half of the Yellow Dragon Year. T'ai-tsu *shen wu huan ti* Cinggis Qağan was forty-seven years old. (Chronology same as above) When Todu was cut in half in the City of Iltish, his head and tail were both vicious. The meeting of Todi of the Irğai Aimak was beneficial to friend and foe alike. Who can really appreciate the ten marvelous deeds of the Mongols? There are those who are able to relate about all nations but are ignorant of their own. Though they often speak of "The holy lord Cinggis of us Mongols", I have heard often their statement "He must have been a lama Qağan."	The arrival of the Mongol army relieves the siege of Ili by Todu and Küčülüg (53); The garrison general Babu seeks an alliance of Mongols (57); Babu offers a plan to Cinggis for the destruction of Todu and Küčülüg (62); Cinggis follows Babu's plan and pretends to besiege the city (63); Todu offers to aid the besieged city (65); Todu and Küčülüg fall into the trap by entering the city of Ili (72); Todu killed by general Toğtungğu (78); Küčülüg escapes capture (86).
Chapter LXIX (1209)	The Yellow Female Serpent Year Begins. T'ai-tsu was forty-eight years old. The Blue Chronicle of the Rise of the Great Yüan Dynasty. Book twenty-three. The fourth year of the Cinggis	On the history of the Uigur nation (108); On the campaign of Jelm-e and Jebe in the West (132); On the conquest of the Uigurs by Cağadai (141).

Book and Chapter	Heading	Notes
	Qağan of the Great Blue Mongol Empire. The first year of Ta-an of the eighth Emperor of the Chin Empire, Prince Wei-shao, Yung-chi. The second year of Chia Ting of the Reign of Ning-tsung, the Thirteenth Emperor of the Southern Sung Empire. The valiant Jebe with one club hits two qans and captures them alive. The royal princes of Chin with a little trick scare the whole of three nations. The true grace of the compassionate divine lord esteems even the dead. For this his posterity enjoyed high nobility for seven hundred and twenty years. If such true virtues were not established at that time, What will the princes and lords of Inner and Outer rely upon?	
Book XXIV Chapter LXX	(Same chronology) The temperamental princess, in dealing with the Uigurs, feigns anger and arrests two generals. The sagacious T'ai-tsu, in uniting all, feasts three lords with special honor. [The marriage of] the valiant princess to the tiger-like prince was made in the Western Heaven;	The Hsia princess Chin-luan scares the chief of the Uigurs Ürgüngge (1); Cağadai intervenes for the Uigur chief (2); Cağadai succeeds in reconciling Hsia and Uigur (4–); The episode of Kücülüg's meeting of the Taoist Ch'iu (46).

Book and Chapter	Heading	Notes
	War with Nepal; Conquering of the Moslems; all people are unified. The Western Hsia raised a tiger cub for the ever-growing Mongol nation. Whether they meet for battle or for amusement, small nations are crushed to pieces.	
Chapter LXXI	(Same) The mischievous Hsia king Hsien-tsung constructs the Altar of Five Ti's for the sake of his empire. The Prince of Wei of the Chin Empire ruins three queens for selfish ends. While there were no great difficulties in compiling this work, reconciling various chronicles, It pained me within when I had to deal with supernatural events. Should I discard them completely I fear I will discredit early savants. If I faithfully record these events, I fear that I will be accused of writing ordinary nonsense.	The Hsia king again plots against the Mongols (54); the Hsia seek an alliance with the Chin, Sartağcin and the Qarliğuds (55); The Taoist Ch'iu proposes military strategy against the Mongols (60); Ch'iu appointed marshal of the Hsia army (70); Ch'iu directs the Hsia military campaign (72); The Chin army does not materialize (79); Hsia sends an envoy to demand the promised military aid from Chin (80); The capitulation of the happenings in the Sung and Chin empires (81); The intrigues in the palace of the Chin (82); The Chin King refuses aid to Hsia (94); The Hsia King constructs Altars of Five Kings (99).
Chapter LXXII	(Same) The twenty-eight regiments of the tumultous Chün-shih* of the wrong-doing sovereign. The thirteen detachments of the wise Jinung of the divine-born mother and son.	Two wise ministers of the Hsia court try to dissuade the Hsia king from warfare with the Mongols (107); The two ministers propose a means of defense against the Mongol invasion (117); The Hsia envoy sent to the Chin seeks asylum on the Mongol side (128); Jinung Mo-

Book and Chapter	Heading	Notes
	It is difficult to command others, if one does not possess valor. It is impossible to accomplish great things without true wisdom in one's heart. Those who harbor selfishness day and night, and follow the words of little men, Though they win in battle, they will lose in war, and in the end will ruin themselves.	quli organizes thirteen detachments for campaign against the Hsia (146). (End of the Tümed manuscript)

* Ch. *chün-shih* 軍師 Commander in chief, usually a civilian military strategist who was commanded by the king to conduct a war.

CONCLUSION

Berthold Laufer, whose *Skizze der mongolischen Literatur*[1] served for many years as the handbook for the study of Mongolian literature, but is now outdated, characterized Mongolian literature as follows:

> "Mongolian literature can be characterized in general as receptive and reproductive. It has absorbed the Buddhistic literature of Tibet and a small fraction of Chinese literature, without attempting an original adaptation of the ideas thus received. . . ."[2]

This view was generally held by Mongolists for many years because many of the later discoveries of Mongolian literary monuments had not yet been made and what was available in Mongolian literature at that time was mostly Buddhistic. But the picture has considerably changed in the last sixty years, thanks to the diligent research and discoveries made by both foreign and Mongol scholars. As a result, it has come to be shown that Mongolian literature is no longer to be looked upon as "imitative" or "monkish" and that the Mongols were indeed able to develop a body of literature of their own.

The Mongols were not only able to create a body of literature peculiarly their own, but also attempted with success to adapt ideas they received from Indo-Tibetan and Chinese civilizations in their literature. The author Injannasi's *Köke sudur* and his other works are example of this adaptation.

The *Köke sudur* is not a translation of some Chinese work as it appeared to some when it first became known. Nor should it be treated as an imitation of the Chinese historical novel. Chinese influence on the author's writing is paramount, in his philosophy, in his method of writing and in that much of his inspiration is of Chinese origin. Yet the author conscientiously preserved Mongolian tradition as best he could and at the same time adapted to his writing the best of the Chinese literary achievements, thereby enriching his native literature.

We owe to Injannasi many firsts in Mongolian literary history. He was the first author to have produced a lengthy historical novel based on the Great Mongol Empire. He was also the first Mongolian author to have written novels about contemporary society. He was the first Mongolian writer to express strong nationalistic sentiments and the first who dared to criticize the policy of the Manchu rule and the Lama Buddhist church.

There remains much work to be done on the study of the *Köke sudur*. We hope that some day the missing parts of the *Köke sudur* will be found. This search must necessarily be the task of the native scholars located in that region. In the meantime, there are a number of studies of the *Köke sudur* which could be pursued.

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[1] "Skizze der mongolischen Literatur," von Berthold Laufer. – In: Keleti Szemle (Revue orientale pour les etudes ouralo-altaique), v. VIII, Budapest, 1907. pp. 165–261.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 260. I quote here from an English translation (unpublished) by E. Selden.

First of all, a detailed study could be made to determine the historical value of the *Köke sudur* by a vigorous method of comparison with the sources ennumerated in the *Köke sudur*, at the same time weeding out that which is obviously from the author's imagination. In theory at least, this will yield certain information which can be attributed to his unknown sources. In this book, my findings in this regard are rather negative. Nevertheless, until further study can be made on this subject, we cannot totally disregard its historical value, as it is clear that Injannasi did make use of some historical works no longer extant.

The *Köke sudur* provides much material for the study of Mongolian literary genres of prose and poetry, indigenous literary forms and epic-folkloristic tradition. Injannasi's poetic genres are especially rich in the *Köke sudur* and a study of them will be very rewarding.

The language of the *Köke sudur* also provides us with much material for linguistic studies. There are dialectic peculiarities, colloquialisms, idioms, etc. For such study, the Tümed manuscript is especially important as it preserves the author's original handwriting.

Injannasi himself must be the subject of further study. He comes from a Mongolian princely family, a remarkable family of literati. He was a historian, poet, philosopher, painter and patriot. Injannasi and his works provide us with ample material which could serve to investigate the Mongolian psyche of the late 19th century and early 20th century. It is this frame of mind which must be understood by those who wish to interpret present-day Mongolian civilization and its precarious position.

It is hoped that this book may stimulate others to pursue some of the questions around Injannasi and his *Köke sudur* which have been brought up.

INDICES

I. The Historical Sources Mentioned in the *Köke sudur*

II. Index of Personal and Geographical Names in the *Köke sudur*

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II, III = volumes II and III of the Köke-qota edition.
20:10 = page 20, line 10
TM (XV) = Tümed manuscript, Book XV
+ = occurs frequently throughout the text.
863:4 = italic entries indicate place of special interest

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